

AGE-CLASS SOCIETIES IN ANCIENT GREECE?*

Abstract: This article assesses the validity of claims that Greek city states were 'age-class societies', a type of social ordering found in acephalous societies, in which males grouped into age sets attain different degrees of power and status as they progress collectively through a system of age grades. After a survey of the anthropological terminology, drawn mostly from studies of age-class societies in northeastern Africa, three Greek case studies are presented: Athens, Sparta, and Crete. Examination of literary and epigraphical evidence reveals that while Athens manifested an abundance of age designations they did not cohere into the official, universally applicable age scale necessary in an age-class society. The ephebate proves to be neither compulsory nor all-inclusive, qualities typical of age-class systems. In contrast, the Spartan citizen training system was compulsory for all young Spartiates, but no evidence exists for the further collective movement of Spartan males through an official set of graded age designations, despite a recent detailed argument in favor of Sparta being organized along generation-set lines. The mixture of different ages was moreover integral to the functioning of important Spartan institutions such as the army and common messes. Crete offers the only evidence for universally-applied official age designations, nonetheless without any indications that citizens belonged to age sets or age-grade scales were systematically arranged. This negative finding leads to the conclusion that no single theory can explain how ancient Greek societies were organized and that more profitable insights may be gained from comparisons with evidence from places such as early modern Europe.

A strong current of interest, bubbling more and more to the surface recently, in the question of whether Greek cities were what anthropologists call 'age-class societies' has long flowed among ancient historians, archaeologists, and art historians.¹ As part of a discussion about transitions between age categories, initiation rituals, and the construction of identity, age-class systems have been seen as providing a key to the fundamental structure of Greek society and even, as a recent article has

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¹ E.g. Sallares (1991) 160-192, but see the criticism of Osborne (1996) 77-78; Davidson (2006), (2007) 71-78, (2009) 353-354; Ferrari (2002) 152-153; Persky (2009).

claimed, to the Greek conception of time.² The existence of Greek age-class societies would also provide support for the idea, now under some debate, that *poleis* were acephalous or 'stateless' societies, in which legal power was vested in the citizen body, not concentrated in the hands of a hereditary ruling elite, and where decisions were taken collectively, without any idea of The State as a separate entity.³ Crete, Sparta, and Athens are all places identified as either having age-class systems or being fully fledged age-class societies. The claims for Athens are relatively new, but Cretan and Spartan customs relating to age transitions, in particular those marking the attainment of civic maturity, are familiar to most. This very familiarity, and the fact that Sparta has even appeared in a classic work of anthropological literature as an example of an age-class society, could inevitably lead to the wholesale acceptance of the idea that age-class systems were ubiquitous in ancient Greece.⁴ The idea is an attractive one, but the qualifications of these three places (and, by extension, the many other cities for which we have little or no information) to be considered true age-class societies have to be put to the test. In other words, what is the evidence?

First, we must clarify our terms, beginning with the concept of age. Anthropologists and other social scientists distinguish three ways of expressing an individual's age: chronological age, which is determined mathematically by the number of years from birth; physiological age, which is determined by bodily development, usually puberty; and, most important for our purposes, structural age, which is determined by an individual's chronological relationship to ceremonies or rituals marking the passage from one life stage to another.⁵ In an age-class society or system, structural age is determined solely by the position of one's age class in the hierarchy of age grades. An age class is a formally constituted group of individuals of roughly the same chronological age who by virtue of belonging to the same class are considered to be of the same structural age. An age grade, on the other hand, is a fixed stage in a chronologically ordered social system through which all age classes

² Davidson (2006) 51.

³ Supporting: Pope (1988); Berent (2000); Cartledge (1999) 468. Opposing: Rhodes (1995); Hansen (2003) 265; Harris (2007). Anderson (2009) takes the middle position.

⁴ E.g. Sallares (1996); Murray (2009) 519 writes of "the age class systems that were widespread in the archaic world"; Le Bras (2003) 32 even refers to "la supériorité du système grec sur le système des grades maasai." In his famous study on age-class societies Eisenstadt (2003) 141-144 describes Spartan age-related customs.

⁵ Bernardi (1985) 9-10.

pass.⁶ Anthropologists tend to refer indiscriminately to ‘age-class systems’ or ‘age-class societies’, but for ease of comprehension I shall distinguish between the two. An age-class system I define as a societal mechanism by which individuals, grouped into age classes, pass collectively through a series of age grades until death or retirement from the system. An age-class society I define as a society in which an age-class system is the dominant institution, socially, politically, and religiously, through which all individuals must pass. A consequence of these definitions is that a society may have an age-class system without necessarily being considered as an age-class society. This represents a departure from normal anthropological usage, but necessary, I think, to avoid some of the problems of definition that have plagued the specialist literature.⁷ In addition to these basic concepts, we need to distinguish between two types of ritual that are closely associated with age-class systems. An initiation ritual is a ceremony or set of ceremonies which immature individuals undergo, usually at or after the age of puberty, to enter an age-class system and thereby create a new age class.⁸ Promotion rituals are ceremonies that allow the passage of an entire age class from one age grade to the next.⁹

In an age-class system (which is almost always male-centered) power is diffused among various age groups, each of which theoretically performs a socially useful function. The type of power and level of status enjoyed by individual group members change as the group advances through a system of age grades, each of which has a particular set of responsibilities and privileges attached to it. Pure age-class societies tend to be highly decentralized and sometimes display marked egalitarian tendencies, with power often based on consensus under the supervision of the age class that occupies the grade of elders.

Age-class systems thus consist of two essential elements: first, a system of static age grades dividing up the lifespan of an adult male into

⁶ The distinction between age grades and age classes was first made by Radcliffe-Brown in 1929: Stewart (1977) 10. On the importance of distinguishing between the two concepts, see Prins (1953) 17.

⁷ See, for example, Tornay (1988) 285-286 on the “primary” and “secondary” models of age-class societies used by Bernardi (1985) 42. On the complexity of age-class systems generally, see Peatrik (1995a). The Nuer people are an example of a society in which the age-class system does not play a predominant role: Evans-Pritchard (1940) 253.

⁸ On the problematic use of this term, see Graf (2003).

⁹ On the distinction between initiation and promotion rituals, see Bernardi (1985) 4-5.

several periods during each of which he is expected to perform certain duties and enjoy particular rights; second, age classes consisting of men who reach social maturity at the same time and who pass collectively through each age grade. To use an analogy familiar to North Americans, age grades are similar to the grades of elementary and secondary school, while an age class is equivalent to a graduation 'class'. In 2012, a fifty-seven-year-old man is no longer in Grade 12, but he is still a member of the 'Class of '73'.

Age is one of the fundamental ways by which societies are ordered. Informal age categories such as child, youth, adult, teenager, senior citizen, and the expectations for behavior, dress, and sometimes even thought associated with them are ubiquitous. But age-class systems are characterized by their formal, explicit nature, in which age grades and age classes have an acknowledged institutional significance.¹⁰ Age-class systems can be found in some societies on all continents, in varying guises, but study has privileged those of Africa, particularly northern East Africa, because of their complexity, ubiquity, and variety. In fact, there does not seem to be a necessary correlation between culture, language, or geography and the type of age-class system functioning in any single community.¹¹ The wide variety of African age-class systems has hampered the development of a universally accepted theoretical model, though two studies, Stewart's *Fundamentals of Age Group Systems* and Bernardi's *Age Class Systems*, both published more than twenty years ago, have wide currency.

Several factors, some familiar to ancient historians, must also be taken into account when describing African systems. Age-class systems are highly susceptible to change and especially vulnerable to the demands of market economies and centralized states. Consequently, very many communities have abandoned their age-based customs, forcing anthropologists to reconstruct the systems as they functioned in the past, sometimes even to attempt to picture them before contact with Europeans.¹² Those systems that survived into the mid-twentieth century later evidently underwent significant modifications. Even so, informants sometimes claim that the age-class systems of their own time, though demonstrably different from earlier versions, are unchanged from their earliest

¹⁰ On the difference between informal age groupings and age grades, see Bernardi (1985) xiii.

¹¹ Jones (1962) 191; Peatrik (1995b) 13-15.

¹² Otite (1972) 302; Komma (1998).

founding.¹³ To counterbalance this tendency, anthropologists often employ the concept of the 'ethnographic present', in which the practices under study are described only at the time of their research, without making any claims for continuity with the past or into the future. This is a luxury denied ancient historians, as our evidence for any institution or event is often widely scattered chronologically. Still, a synchronic approach to the evidence brings its own problems, especially those involving distortion or invention of practices to conform to an image of a society that in fact developed over time.

Despite all the variations and obstacles, it is still possible to outline briefly the basic characteristics of an age-class system. Boys enter the system, either individually or in small groups, through initiation rituals held during a set period of time, sometimes several years long, at which the youngest age class is officially formed.¹⁴ This interval is often marked by opening and closing rituals, such as the *embolosat o ol-Giteng* (Tearing of the Ox) and *ngeherr* (Passing Out Ceremony) that begin and end the fifteen-year period of initiation among the Masai.¹⁵ Once the initiation period ends, the age class comes into being, and sometimes receives a name. The ending ceremony usually acts as a promotion ritual causing the new class to enter the first adult age grade, almost always that of the warriors. The duties of those in the warrior grade are to protect the community and its resources, mostly cattle, while the young men also sometimes organize raids on other communities to prove their martial prowess. Once in the next grade, that of elders, the age class enjoys its greatest immediate influence: in many societies only elders are allowed to marry and build up a homestead. This grade, like others, might be subdivided into junior and senior, with the seniors taking on a more deliberative role. Then in some societies comes another very senior grade, of which the best known is the Masai grade of *il dasat* (Elderly) whose few, aged members are considered to have a special link with the afterlife and thus perform a central role in rituals for the welfare of the community.¹⁶

Age-class systems can be as complex as that of the Nigerian Otuo, whose thirteen age grades filled by classes that form every five years spread over a lifetime from childhood to death, or as simple as the Nuer's, who recognized only two grades, child and adult, and whose age

¹³ Jones (1962) 193-194.

¹⁴ Bernardi (1985) 4-5.

¹⁵ Bernardi (1985) 46.

¹⁶ Bernardi (1985) 52-53.

classes had only social importance.¹⁷ The system may configure a man's behavior throughout his entire life, as in the case of the Masai, or be significant only in the years immediately succeeding his initiation, as in the case of the Shavante, a people living in the Brazilian rain forest.¹⁸ Transitions between the warrior and elder grades could be formalized with promotion rituals, such as the *eunoto* among the Masai, or determined by events in an individual's life, such as marriage and the birth of the first son, as was the case among the Kikuyu.¹⁹ But despite the huge variety in age-class systems, age-class societies have one common denominator — the age-class system encompasses all the male (and in a few places, the female) population of the community.²⁰

Turning to Greece, one problem in identifying any of the cities as an age-class society is readily apparent — slaves, who were not citizens and consequently would not have taken part in the age-class system. Slavery was uncharacteristic of the age-class societies of north-east Africa. Targets of raids by Islamic and African slave traders they certainly were, but they did not acquire slaves themselves. This is not to say that slave-holding and age-class systems are incompatible. They were not, as the Fulbe of Benin possessed both slaves and an elaborate age-class system, but slave-holding seems to be incompatible with the ordering of a whole society on the grounds of age.²¹ Other elements in the population of a Greek *polis* would also not be included in an age-class system — freed slaves, even if their descendants might later be accepted, individuals whose parents were not both citizens, and metics, who we know for a fact were excluded from the Athenian ἐφηβεία, for instance.²² We know of no ceremonies by which freedmen were inserted into age grades or age classes in any Greek city. On the other hand, there is quite a lot of evidence for the enrollment of new citizens into civic tribes and constituent communities — demes, φυλαί and the like — from the Hellenistic period, but again, age grades or classes are not mentioned.²³

¹⁷ Borgatti (1982) 42; Evans-Pritchard (1940) 253.

¹⁸ Bernardi (1985) 62-71.

¹⁹ Lawren (1968) 579.

²⁰ Peatrik (2003) 9.

²¹ Baldus (1977) 441-442.

²² [Arist.] *AP* 42.1; Din. 16 F5; Whitehead (1977) 82.

²³ E.g. *SEG* LIII 846 (Cos), 1299-1301 (Claros); *I. Ephesos* 1447, 1449-1459; *I. Milet* 3 1023, 1038. For a comprehensive collection of the evidence, see Jones (1991), expanding on the study of Szanto (1892) 53-57.

It might be objected that such later evidence is irrelevant, since the institution most commonly identified as an age-class system, the ephebate, and especially the Athenian ephebate, had become voluntary in the early third century, which would signal the abandonment of age-class systems during that period.²⁴ However, this presupposes the earlier existence of such systems, and to this question we now turn.

The two systems most often presented as expressions of age-class systems, the Athenian ἐφηβεία and Sparta's citizen training system, commonly called the ἀγωγή, have their own unique problems of interpretation and evidence. Still, for the fourth century we do have literary texts that explicitly describe, albeit sketchily, the two institutions — the Aristotelian *Constitution of the Athenians* and the *Constitution of the Lacedaemonians* by Xenophon. Luckily, the content of the two systems need not concern us here, but several other aspects are of prime importance: the modes of entry, the methods of promotion, the articulation of the age groupings, and the definition of eligibility. The author of the *Constitution of the Athenians* describes the process of citizen enrollment at Athens thus ([Arist.] *AP* 42.1-2):

Those born of two citizen parents have a share in citizenship, and they are enrolled among the δημόται when they are eighteen. In the enrollment process, the δημόται cast votes concerning them upon oath, first if they appear to be of the legal age, and if they don't, they go back to the children; second, if he is free and was born according to the law. Should they reject him for not being free, he appeals to the courts, while the δημόται choose five men from among them to make their case, and should he be shown to be enrolled illegally, the city sells him; if he should win, the δημόται are compelled to enroll him. After this the *boule* examines (δοκιμάζει) those who have been enrolled, and if anyone should be shown to be younger than eighteen, it fines the δημόται who enrolled him. When the ephebes have been examined, their fathers gather together by tribe and choose three of their fellow tribesmen above forty years old whom they consider to be the best and most suited to supervise the ephebes; from these the *demos* elects one σωφρονιστής from each tribe and a κοσμητής from the other Athenians over all of them.

According to the *Constitution*, the formation of a new group of Athenian ephebes was a three-stage process: first, examination and enrollment as

²⁴ Pélékides (1962) 167-172. See now Perrin-Saminadayar (2007) 31-33, who sees a gradual evolution throughout the third century rather than an abrupt change in the nature of the ephebate.

a member of a deme at age eighteen; then, examination in Athens by the *boule*; finally, selection of ephebic officials by the ephebes' fathers. In his fundamental study of the Athenian ephebate, Chrysis Pélékides argued that in the fourth century the examination (δοκιμασία) of young Athenians before the demesmen took place in the two months between the beginning of the Athenian year on 1 Hekatombaion and 1 Boedromion, when the ephebic year began.²⁵ He based this on a combination of evidence from the third and second centuries, when honorific decrees for the previous year's ephebes were almost all voted during Boedromion, implying that they had only recently completed their term, and a passage from Demosthenes in which the orator says that he passed his δοκιμασία immediately after his sister's marriage in Skirophorion, the last month of the Athenian year.²⁶ This procedure might be thought comparable to the initiation ceremonies held over a period before an age class is formed, but it differs noticeably in that the δημόται carrying out the examination do not simply enroll all who stand before them. They are empowered to send back anyone who does not appear to be of the proper physiological age to the previous age category and can reject anyone whose status disqualifies him for citizenship but does make him liable for enslavement. A little later, but still apparently before the ephebic year began, the youths went through a second δοκιμασία, this time before the Athenian council, at which their credentials were again scrutinized. Finally, the fathers of the youths, who are only now called 'ephebes' (ἐφηβοί), began the procedure of choosing officials to supervise their sons' training.²⁷

The *Constitution* describes nothing that resembles a collective promotion ritual for the new ephebes but, as its author is known to have omitted much, this is not surprising.²⁸ We do know from a contemporary source, the orator Lycurgus, that the ephebes swore an oath, the inscribed text of which was first published in 1938.²⁹ At what point in the procedure this took place is unclear; Lycurgus refers to the oath "which all citizens swear when they are registered in the ληξιαρχικὸν γραμματεῖον

²⁵ Pélékides (1962) 89-93. Relying on evidence from the third century and later, Pélékides (174-175) thought that the ephebic year "vraisemblablement" began on 1 Boedromion in the fourth also.

²⁶ E.g. *IG* II² 665, 787; *Dem.* 30.1.15.

²⁷ Friend (2009) 26 notes that ἐφηβοί first appear here, but believes that the word designated "those who have become citizens".

²⁸ Rhodes (1981) 35-36.

²⁹ Lyc., *In Leocratem* 18; Robert (1938) 293-316.

and become ephebes". The *ληξιαρχικὸν γραμματεῖον* was the deme registry in which all new citizens were enrolled, as described in the *Constitution of the Athenians*. Thus Lycurgus seems to imply that the oath was taken at the time of enrollment as citizen, but it much more likely happened afterwards, most probably at the beginning of the ephebic year. As for the location, Demosthenes referred to "the oath of the ephebes in the sanctuary of Aglaurus", which has been found on the eastern flank of the acropolis, near the city's *πρυτανεῖον*.³⁰ We have no direct evidence for the rituals that accompanied the oath-taking, but they would certainly have involved sacrifices and libations. Inscriptions from after the liberation of Athens from Macedonian domination in 229 BCE refer to an entrance (*εἰσιτητήρια*) or registration (*ἐγγραφαί*) ceremony for ephebes held at the *πρυτανεῖον* in the presence of the priest of the newly-founded cult of Demos and the Graces, but we have no earlier evidence for such a ritual.³¹ Still, the oath-taking ceremony of the fourth century has quite strong claims to be a promotion ritual by which a new class of ephebes was created.

That something resembling a true Athenian age class was formed annually is apparently confirmed later in the *Constitution*, at the beginning of a passage where the author describes the post of *διατητής*, arbitrator ([Arist.] *AP* 53.4):

διατηταί are those in their sixtieth year: this is clear from the archons and the eponymous heroes. For there are ten eponymous heroes of the tribes, but forty-two of the ages (*ἡλικίαι*). Ephebes being registered used to be written up on whitened boards, and at their head were recorded the archon under whom they were registered and the eponymous hero of the previous year's *διατηταί*; now they are recorded on a bronze *stele*, and the *stele* is erected in front of the council house by the (tribal) eponymous heroes.

Once registered, each year's ephebes were listed on a bronze *stele* and assigned an eponymous hero. There were forty-two such heroes, each of whom was assigned to a year group of ephebes on a cyclical basis, with the hero of the previous year's *διατηταί*, now that they had retired from the *ἡλικία*-system, transferred to the youngest class of ephebes, who were just entering the system. The cycle of forty-two *ἡλικίαι* depicted

³⁰ Dem. 19.303; cf. schol. ad Dem. 19.303 no. 537a (Dilts); Plut., *Alcib.* 15.7. Location: Dantas (1983) 48-63.

³¹ Pélékides (1962) 217-219 places the oath-taking shortly before the sacrifices of the *εἰσιτητήρια*, because the *Αγλαυρίον* and the *πρυτανεῖον* are close to each other.

here strongly recalls one method of assigning names to classes in certain age-class systems, where a fixed number of names is assigned on a rotating basis as each age class forms.³² The name of at least one of these ἡλικίαι-heroes is known.³³

After a year spent training in the Piraeus under the supervision of publicly funded instructors in military techniques, the ephebes put on a display of their newly acquired skills before the Assembly in the theater, where they each received a shield and a spear. They spent the next year patrolling the Attic hinterland and manning garrisons ([Arist.] *AP* 42.4). The display in the theater could easily qualify as a promotion ritual, as the ephebic class collectively advanced from passive training to active military duty. At the end of the second year, the young Athenians, who had been exempt from most legal actions during their time as ephebes and dressed uniformly in a short cloak (χλαμύς), passed out of the ἐφηβεία and “were with the others” ([Arist.] *AP* 42.5). We should expect there to have been some sort of ceremony accompanying this event but, again, our only evidence for an exit ceremony (ἐξιτητήρια) is significantly later.³⁴

Assuming, for the moment, that the ἡλικίαι were actually age classes, what about the age grades that an Athenian age-class system would have needed? Like every other Greek city, Athens possessed a rich vocabulary for expressing age — βρέφος, παῖς, μεिरάκιον, νέος, νεανίσκος, νεώτατος, ἥβων, ἀνὴρ, πρεσβύτερος, πρεσβύτατος, and so on. Hellenistic scholars such as Aristophanes of Byzantium, who produced a mammoth study, were fascinated by these terms.³⁵ So are modern historians, who have seen in them age-grade names. Νέος (youth) and πρεσβύτερος (elder/senior), for example, are sometimes held to be the first two adult grades, with the transition to the status of πρεσβύτερος marked by becoming eligible for the *boule* and other offices at thirty.³⁶ In a society where dates of birth were not recorded and where ‘becoming eighteen’ and being eligible for citizenship depended more on physiological than chronological age, something can be said for the idea that ‘becoming thirty’ was essentially a matter of collective structural age and chronological distance from the rituals marking entry into

³² Bernardi (1985) 36-37; Komma (1998) 187.

³³ Habicht (1961); Davidson (2006) 40.

³⁴ *SEG* XXVI 98, ll. 25-26 (late 3rd century BCE); *SEG* XX 110, ll.4-6 (79/8 BCE).

³⁵ Nauck (1848) 87-127; Slater (1986) 28-71. See also Tolkiehn (1925) 2439-2440.

³⁶ Timmer (2008) 33-38, 42-45.

adulthood.³⁷ But that is a far cry from labelling the twelve-year period between the two events an age grade. Certainly, young men in their twenties, then as now, formed the bulk of the armed forces, and social constraints discouraging them from marrying or speaking in the Assembly may have operated, but some *véoi* were mouthy and some were even married.³⁸

Distinguishing age-grade names from casual age terminology has long bedeviled anthropologists, engendering much disagreement.³⁹ Even with the advantage of living informants, they often have difficulty disentangling the informal ways of referring to age from the ‘official’ titles for specific grades. For ancient historians the task might seem impossible, as our informants are long dead; perhaps we should give up and “dispense altogether with the idea that age-class societies have a single ‘true’ sequence of unitary essentialist grades, each with its own technical grade-name, above and beyond any particular sequential (ritual, cultural) context”.⁴⁰ But that approach strips the categories ‘age grade’ and ‘age-class society’ of their hermeneutical value, for any age-related term in any context could qualify as an age grade and any society be an age-class society. In fact, modern Western societies with their compulsory educational systems in which children are grouped by age and pass together through an age-graded structure would certainly fit under this approach. If all societies can be age-class societies, then none can be usefully studied under that category. All is not lost, however, as ancient historians do enjoy one advantage: our informants may be dead, but they left us texts, quite a lot of texts, with quite a lot of terms for age. The problem is to determine which, if any, qualify as age-grade names — that is, terms that are *not* used differently depending on the context but rather applied universally, consistently, and (it must be said) officially.

³⁷ Davidson (2006) 42.

³⁸ Even today young men predominate in the military. Of the 569 US and coalition soldiers with names beginning with A and B killed in Iraq up to the end of 2003, 68% (388) were in their 20s; the next largest age group, those in their 30s, only constituted 20% of the total. Calculated from the list “US and Coalition Casualties” at <http://www.cnn.com/SPECIALS/2003/iraq/forces/casualties>, accessed on July 20, 2009. Young Athenian men marrying: Vérilhac & Vial (1998) 211-215. Speaking in the Assembly: Xen. *Mem.* 3.6.9-11.

³⁹ Bernardi (1985) 3.

⁴⁰ Davidson (2006) 44.

In Athens, as in most societies, the period of transition from childhood to maturity was the most fruitful in producing age-related terms. Apart from ἔφηβος — one of the most popular candidates for age-grade status, which, for reasons that will be apparent, needs separate treatment — four terms (not counting their variations) were in common use, covering the period from childhood to the assumption of full citizen rights, usually at thirty years of age — παῖς, μειράκιον, νεανίσκος, and its synonym νέος. There is little doubt about παῖς. In constitutional contexts it was used to describe males below the age of majority.⁴¹ The last two terms have been much studied and commented on, especially in light of increased interest in the military activity of Hellenistic cities, in over 130 of which organized bodies of νέοι are attested.⁴² At Athens these words were used mostly for young adult men who had arrived at the age of reason (e.g. Plato, *Laws* 7.802c 7-9; Xen., *Mem.* 2.1). Νεανίσκοι might control their own finances, though not always wisely (Aeschin. 1.171.3; Isoc., *Areop.* 37.2). They had a reputation for being hot-headed, perhaps justifiably (Antiph., *Tetra.* 3.4.2; Xen., *Mem.* 2.1.31; Arist., *Rhet.* 2.1390b 5). The oligarchic conspirators of 411 made extensive use of younger men to assassinate and intimidate their opponents (Thuc. 8.65.2, 69.4, 92.6). The Thirty also employed young thugs (νεανίσκοι) with concealed weapons to stifle opposition at the tumultuous meeting of the *boule* that led to Theramenes' death (Xen., *Hell.* 2.3.23-56). Νεανίσκοι/νέοι were distinguished from the younger παῖδες and, although adult themselves, from the elder ἄνδρες (Xen., *Cyrop.* 6; Plato, *Rep.* 413e 5; *Lysis* 206c 8-d 2). Μειράκιον was essentially synonymous.⁴³ Like a νεανίσκος, the μειράκιον was a young adult, older than the παῖδες but not yet included among the ἄνδρες, who had the right to manage his own financial affairs (Aeschin. 1.8, 39, 40, 42; Plato, *Apol.* 34d 5-6). The μειράκιον Teisis, who had recently come into his inheritance, was accused by one of Lysias' clients of torturing a certain Archippus with whom he had had an altercation in the gymnasium

⁴¹ E.g. Ar. *Wasps* 578 refers to the examination of παῖδες' genitals at their δοκιμασία before becoming citizens. Also, see below.

⁴² The number is only provisional. For the material on which this estimation is based, see Kennell (2006). Sacco (1979); Dreyer (2004); Ma (2000); Chaniotis (2005a) 8-44.

⁴³ Davidson (2006) 46 sees the νεανίσκοι as "leisured Meirakia, perhaps at one time exclusively Hippeis-class." If this were true, then νεανίσκος would not be an age grade at all, but a status label.

(Lysias Fr. 17.2 [Gernet and Bizos] = Fr. 75 [Thalheim]). The scale of ages thus was παῖδες, νεανίσκοι/νέοι/μειράκια, ἄνδρες.

But things were actually not so tidy. Sometimes both μειράκιον and νεανίσκος might also refer to underage males. This is the case in the second set of four speeches by Antiphon, in which he imagines a case of involuntary homicide at the gymnasium where a παῖς died after being struck by a javelin thrown by a μειράκιον. The usage in the speeches is quite consistent, implying a difference in age (*Tetra.* 2). However, the μειράκιον was not an adult, as he does not speak for himself in the trial.⁴⁴ As was the custom when a minor or an individual without citizen rights — a metic, woman, or man suffering from loss of rights — was involved in a court case, his κύριος, in this case the μειράκιον's father, speaks for him.⁴⁵ In contrast, the defendant in the fourth tetralogy, a young man (νέος) defends himself against a charge of killing an older man in a quarrel, as we can assume the violent μειράκιον Teisis did in the case just mentioned (*Tetra.* 3.3.2, 3.4.2). The two young sons of Diodotus, who was killed in action at Ephesus in 409, first appear in Lysias' speech against their spendthrift guardian Diogeiton as μειράκια, just after the elder has passed his δοκιμασία and, in the words imputed to Diogeiton, has "become a man".⁴⁶ If only the elder μειράκιον was an ἄνθρωπος, then the younger was still among the παῖδες. Later in the speech, the speaker calls on the sympathy of the δικασταί for the financial disaster suffered by the two νεανίσκοι now that their guardian has frittered away their inheritance.⁴⁷ Rather than implying that the younger son has now become an adult too, νεανίσκος, like μειράκιον, may here straddle the two categories.

Or perhaps not. In fact, μειράκιον, νεανίσκος, and the plethora of other such age-related terms shift their meanings according to context and, in and of themselves, can convey only the vaguest of impressions about their subject's age. They do not, as age-grade names would, place individuals on a fixed scale marked by acknowledged transitions.⁴⁸ That

⁴⁴ παῖς: Antiph. *Tetra.* 2.1.1, 2.4, 2.5, 2.7, 2.8, 2.12, 3.4, 3.7, 3.9, 3.10, 4.4, 4.5, 4.6, 4.7, 4.8, 4.10; μειράκιον: Antiph. *Tetra.* 2.1.1, 2.4, 2.5, 2.7, 3.5, 3.9, 3.10, 3.11, 4.4, 4.5, 4.8.

⁴⁵ Lipsius (1915) 790-791 includes this among his instances of κύριοι having responsibility for those under their care, either women or minors.

⁴⁶ Lys. 32.9: ὁγδόω δ' ἔτει δοκιμασθέντος μετὰ ταῦτα τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου τοῖν μειρακίον ... σὺ οὖν, ἐπειδὴ δεδοκίμασαι καὶ ἄνθρωπος γεγένησαι.

⁴⁷ Lys. 32.19: ἀξιῶ τοῖνυν, ὃ ἄνδρες δικασταί, τῷ λογισμῷ προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν, ἵνα τοὺς μὲν νεανίσκους διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν συμφορῶν ἐλεήσητε.

⁴⁸ Foner & Kertzer (1978) 1086.

a person described as νεανίσκος or μαιράκιον could be either an adult or a child also violates one of the basic rules of age-class systems, that an individual can only be in one age grade at a time.⁴⁹ Therefore, they are not age grades but informal age categories in colloquial use.⁵⁰ Attempts by philosophers and later Hellenistic scholars to systematize age nomenclature should not be confused with the recording of a pre-existing, highly articulated system of age grades.

Turning to inscriptions, a genre of documentary evidence usually ignored in discussions of age terminology, we find the best candidates for Athenian age grades. In Athenian decrees of the fifth and fourth centuries, adult males, members of the *demos*, are called ἄνδρες consistently and without exception.⁵¹ On several occasions, ἄνδρες are to be elected for certain commissions, sometimes “from all the Athenians” and sometimes with a certain number specified to be “from the *boule*” or “from each tribe”.⁵² In some inscriptions an age limit is fixed: the three men from each tribe to supervise the games in honor of Heracles at Marathon are to be no younger than thirty, while the ambassadors sent to Methone in 424/3 are to be over fifty years old (*IG* I³ 3, ll. 9-10; 61, ll. 16-17). It is significant that these age restrictions, like those of certain magistracies mentioned in the *Constitution of the Athenians*, are expressed in terms of chronological age, not putative age-grade names. No Athenian legal document required anyone to be ‘older than a νεανίσκος’ or ‘of πρεσβύτερος age’.

As we have seen in the case of Diogeiton’s unlucky wards, an Athenian became an ἄνηρ upon passing his δοκιμασία. Isocrates also writes of people passing “into the men” after their δοκιμασία, which as we know from the passage in the *Constitution of the Athenians* quoted above took place at age eighteen (*Areop.* 37; *Panath.* 28). Persons not yet old enough for the δοκιμασία were παῖδες. A fourth-century decree honored the ἱεροποιοί of Dionysus for performing sacrifices for the health and safety of the *boule* and *demos* of the Athenians and of the παῖδες

⁴⁹ Stewart (1977) 130-131.

⁵⁰ The elasticity and inconsistency of Athenian age terminology has long been recognized: Bryant (1907) 74-76; Golden (1990) 14-15.

⁵¹ Decrees such as those emanating from the troops garrisoned at Rhamnus did not originate from organs of the Athenian state and so are exempted. They are collected in Petrakos (1999).

⁵² From all Athenians: *IG* I³ 21, ll. 4-5; 32, ll. 7-8; *IG* II² 31, ll. 17-18; 116, ll. 20-21; 204, ll. 5-6. From all Athenians and the *boule*: *IG* II² 204, line 43. Of the Athenians: *IG* I³ 32, ll. 7-8. From each tribe: *IG* I³ 46, ll. 10-11.

and women and the other possessions of the Athenians (*IG* II² 410, ll. 14-16). Like females of all ages, immature males were not members of the collectivity of ἄνδρες, the *demos*. That ἀνὴρ was actually a word with specific legal application at Athens is implied by the decree requiring the Chalcidians to swear an oath of loyalty after their attempt at revolt in 446 was crushed by Pericles. All Chalcidians “of legal/fighting age” (τὸς ἡβόντας ἅπαντας) had to take the oath, on pain of loss of citizen rights, while in the later amendment by Anticles a commission of five men (πέντε ἄνδρας) was to be sent to administer the oath (*IG* I³ 40, ll. 33-34, 46-47). The term ἡβὼν appears in no official Athenian text other than the notorious Themistocles Decree, where it is applied, with precisely the same meaning, to foreigners living at Athens.⁵³ In the context of an official act of the Athenian *demos* such as the Chalcis decree, ἀνὴρ denoted a male who had passed his δοκιμασία and was thus in possession of citizen rights. When referring to non-Athenians, who attained adulthood under other constitutional structures and sometimes even possessed different levels of citizenship, an alternative locution was employed. The evidence, such as it is, points to two recognized, named age grades, or rather age categories, children/minors (παῖδες) and men/adults (ἄνδρες).

Now we can turn to the ephebes. Virtually all historians, art historians, archaeologists, and others interested in ancient Greece view ‘the ephebe’ as a figure representing transition from youth to adulthood with conceptual roots going deep into the history of Greek culture.⁵⁴ The ‘ephebe’ can be found in museums in the guise of the Antikythera Ephebe or the Marathon Ephebe; he figures in the stories and artifacts of Archaic Athens, where the ephebic Theseus battles various malefactors

⁵³ *ML* 23, ll. 12-14: τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους Ἀθη[ναίους ἅπαντας καὶ τοὺς ξέ]νους τοὺς ἡβόντας εἰσβαλνείν ε[ἰς τὰς ἐτοιμασθ]ε[ῖς]σ[α]ς διακοσίας ναῦς. *IG* I³ 6C, ll. 30-31, read μὲν δὲ ἡ[οἱ ἂν ἡβ]δοσι Κερύκον καὶ Εὐ[μολπιδὸν]. However, other restorations are also possible, such as [θέλ]οσι or [λάχ]οσι.

⁵⁴ For example, Farenga (2006) 353-354, drawing on earlier scholarship, distinguishes between ἐφηβεία in a “narrow sense” of a civic military training system and a “longer-standing and broader cultural sense” of the period from puberty until acceptance into hoplite ranks, which is “characterized by experiences and values typical of initiation rituals in many cultures”. Hartog (1988) 53-55 also assumes the early existence of a category ‘ephebe’ in his interpretation of Herodotus’ view of the Scythians as the quasi-ephebic Other. Relying, without a reference, on an undatable entry in the twelfth-century *Etymologicum Magnum* (532.2), Liston & Papadopoulos (2004) 25 n. 66 imply the existence of a festival called the *Ephebia* in early Athens.

and monsters on his way to becoming a man;⁵⁵ his quintessence has been seen in the god Apollo;⁵⁶ he dances, parades, poses, and sometimes fights on Athenian black- and red-figure pots;⁵⁷ he may ride horses on the Parthenon frieze;⁵⁸ and he clammers through the rocky mountainous border lands as the famous Black Hunter.⁵⁹

Our earliest extant evidence for ephebes as a specific institutional group comes, without exception, from fourth-century Athens — Xenophon is the first Greek author to use the word, in the fictionalized biography of Cyrus, King of Persia, he wrote between 366 and 359.⁶⁰ In 343 the orator Aeschines drew attention to the two years he spent patrolling the countryside, “after leaving the παῖδες,” for which he would provide as witnesses his “fellow ephebes” (συνέφηβοι) (2.167). As Aeschines was born about 390/89, this would put his ephebic service around the years 372/1 and 371/0.⁶¹ The epigraphical evidence begins with a decree of Cécropis praising the exemplary behavior of the ephebes of the tribe who enrolled in the year of the archon Ctesicles (334/3) (*IG* II² 1156). A year before, Epicrates had proposed a reform of the ἐφηβεία that transformed it into the institution described in the *Constitution of the Athenians*.⁶² That some sort of ephebate existed prior to 334 can be implied from the testimony of Aeschines and Xenophon, but what shape it took is difficult to make out. From Aeschines’ reference to having

⁵⁵ The image of Theseus as a mythological ephebe goes back to Jeanmaire (1939) 245, 307-310. For Calame (1990) 190, 432-435, Theseus’ exploits prefigure precisely the activity of youths in the ephebate of the later fourth century.

⁵⁶ Burkert (1975) 18.

⁵⁷ For Stansbury-O’Donnell (2006) 6, 23, 94, ephebes are stock figures on Athenian pots from the Archaic period onwards, and he accepts without question the existence of an ephebate from the time of Cleisthenes onwards (104). Vidal-Naquet (1997) 116-118 uses the description of ephebic activity in the *Constitution of the Athenians* to interpret fifth-century tragedy. Steinbock (2011) 290-291 follows Davidson (2007) in considering the Athenian ἡλικία as proper age classes and further argues from the Codrus cup for a fifth-century ephebate. But now see Chankowski (2010) 135-139.

⁵⁸ Connelly (1996) 70-71 confounds the δοκιμασία of the cavalry with that of new citizens described in the *Constitution of the Athenians* to create ephebes on horseback on the fifth-century Panathenaic frieze.

⁵⁹ Vidal-Naquet (1986).

⁶⁰ Xen., *Cyr.* 2.5-16. Date: Mueller-Goldingen (1995) 45-55.

⁶¹ Aeschin. 1.49: καὶ ἔστιν τοῦτ᾽ ἐμπτόν καὶ τεσσαρακοστὸν ἔτος. Counting inclusively, this puts Aeschines’ birth forty-four years before. On the date of Aeschines’ birth, see Harris (1988) countering the earlier date proposed by Lewis (1958).

⁶² Harpocration, s.v. Ἐπικράτης. On the date of Epicrates’ law, see Knoepfler (2001) 81-82.

patrolled the countryside for two years, we can see that it resembled the system of Epicrates but was not identical with it.⁶³

It is tempting to use the indications of an ephebate in the early decades of the fourth century as a reason to conjure up an ἐφηβεία for the fifth century (or even earlier).⁶⁴ There is, however, no evidence for an ephebic system or even organized military training prior to the 370s. Rather, we have evidence that such training did not exist. It was a point of pride for Pericles, as reported by Thucydides in his Funeral Speech, that Athenians, unlike the Spartans, did not train up their youth for war:

even in educational practices, from the moment they are young men they pursue courage with grueling drill, while we who spend our time without such constraint are no less ready to face perils of equal risk.⁶⁵

Plato has Crito in the 420s worry about his son, who has already come of age but who needs someone to give him direction, a problem that no father would have faced if his son was about to enter two years of compulsory military and ethical training (*Euthyd.* 306d 1-5). In a dialogue in Xenophon's *Memorabilia* set during the late fifth century, Socrates says "there is no public training for war in the city" and elsewhere is described as twitting Glaucon, not yet twenty, for aspiring to speak in the Assembly on military affairs despite his complete ignorance of them.⁶⁶ In a fragment, Antiphon accuses a young Alcibiades of heading for the fleshpots of Abydos immediately upon reaching the age of majority (Fr. 67 [Blass-Thalheim]). Such amateurism in the defense of one's city might seem unbelievable, but even in the early fourth century civic military training had not yet caught on.⁶⁷ In his unsuccessful attempt to obtain Spartan aid against Jason of Pherae in 375, the ambassador from Pharsalus reported a conversation in which that warlord compared his

⁶³ The argument of Friend (2009) 44-50 against the existence of any ἐφηβεία-like institution before Epicrates, while containing some sound points, is substantially weakened by his assumption that the two ἐφηβεῖται in the two periods would have been identical.

⁶⁴ E.g. Pélékides (1962) 72-73; Garland (1990) 183. Ober (1995) 105 posits a pre-Solonian ephebate.

⁶⁵ Thuc. 2.39.1: καὶ ἐν ταῖς παιδείαις οἱ μὲν ἐπιπόνῳ ἀσκήσει εὐθὺς νέοι ὄντες τὸ ἀνδρεῖον μετέρχονται, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἀνειμένως διαιτώμενοι οὐδὲν ἥσσον ἐπὶ τοῖς ἰσοπαλεῖς κινδύνους χωροῦμεν; [Arist.] *AP* 2.1: τὸ δὲ ὀπλιτικὸν αὐτοῖς ὃ ἥκιστα εὖ ἔχειν Ἀθηνησιν.

⁶⁶ No public training: Xen., *Mem.* 3.12.5: οὔτοι χρηὴ ὅτι ἡ πόλις οὐκ ἀσκεῖ δημοσίᾳ τὰ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον. Glaucon: Xen., *Mem.* 3.6.9-11.

⁶⁷ On this aspect of Greek armies, see van Wees (2004) 89-93.

army of fit, well-trained mercenaries with the under-age or elderly forces available to the Thessalian cities, in each of which “very few exercise their bodies” (Xen., *Hell.* 6.1.5).

If there was no ephebic training system earlier, what about ephebes themselves? It has long been generally accepted that ἔφηβος was an ancient, time-honored name for a young man on the brink of adulthood that in the fourth century was recast by Athenians as the title for those in the new cadet corps.⁶⁸ But, as I already mentioned, Xenophon is the first extant author to use the word. Before him, we find instead the noun ἥβη, a word with two overlapping but not identical senses, denoting a time of physical change in one’s body and also a period of societally conditioned change in status with increasing responsibility in the community.⁶⁹ Aeschylus put the closely related verb ἐφηβάω into the mouth of Eteocles in the *Seven against Thebes*, when he illustrates the depths of his brother Polynices’ perfidy:

not even when he fled the darkness of his mother’s womb, nor in his nurse’s embrace, nor when he came to ἥβη (ἐφηβήσαντα), nor in the gathering of hair on his cheek did Justice see him and claim him.⁷⁰

But ἔφηβος and ἐφηβάω are not linked etymologically.⁷¹ They are parallel but distinct, formed directly from ἥβη, and consequently the appearance of the verb does not imply the existence of the noun ἔφηβος, or ‘ephebes’ as a conceptual reality. As Chankowski has pointed out, the word ἔφηβος has only one meaning, “technical and at the same time institutional” — a young man enrolled in an ephebate.⁷² Describing any male adolescent as an ephebe thus confuses two different statuses, that of a young man just about to attain adulthood and that of a young man enrolled in citizen training. The participation of male adolescents in various maturation rituals in the Classical period is of a quite different quality from ephebic service. All literary references to ephebes in the fourth century involve the specific, institutional sense of the word; not only that, they are all from Athens, and in all except two — Xenophon’s *Education of Cyrus* and Aristotle’s *Politics* — the context is avowedly

⁶⁸ Winkler (1990) 24-25; Strauss (1993) 96.

⁶⁹ Physical signs of ἥβη: Eustathius, *Comm. ad Il.* vol. I, p. 690; Homer, *Od.* 18.217. Public affairs: Scheid-Tissinier (1993).

⁷⁰ Aesch., *Septem* 665-667. The same verb appears in the second line of a small fragment of Euripides’ *Oeneus* (F 563 Nauck), but the reading is disputed.

⁷¹ Chantraine (1999) s.v. ἥβη.

⁷² Chankowski (1997) 339.

Athenian.⁷³ There is accordingly no evidence to support the contention that ἔφηβος ever had an earlier non-institutional meaning. On the contrary, ἔφηβος was an Athenian word, coined at some point early in the fourth century to specify a youth who was enrolled in the newly founded training system.⁷⁴ Its widespread later usage as an age designation stemmed from its application at Athens to a large group of youths between eighteen and twenty years of age. The shadow Athens cast over civic culture and institutions in the Hellenistic period is undoubted, so it is surely significant that the earliest non-Athenian evidence for ἔφηβοι comes from Eretria, a city long under Athenian influence.⁷⁵ That later sources describe participants in certain rituals as “ephebes” is a result of this extension of the word’s meaning and consequently has no relevance for the Classical period.⁷⁶ Since ‘ephebe’ was not used generically of young men on the brink of adulthood prior to the invention of the word ἔφηβος, it becomes easier to discern whether or not the ἔφηβεία, as described by the author of the *Constitution of the Athenians*, was in fact an age grade through which all young Athenian citizens passed.

This brings us to one of the most notorious unresolved questions of fourth-century Athenian institutional history: were the θητέες, the lowest of the four Solonian property classes, eligible for the ἔφηβεία? How much validity the four property classes inaugurated as part of Solon’s civil and political reforms in the early sixth century — πεντακοσιομέδιμνοι, ἱππεῖς, ζευγῖται, and θητέες — had in the fourth century has come into question, with a consensus now forming that they were out of use by that time.⁷⁷ That candidates for offices restricted to the higher classes, when asked the τέλος to which they belonged, never admitted to being a θής is a telling sign of the Solonian classes’ obsolescence as a method of social and political ordering, especially since there is no hint that the matter was pursued further.⁷⁸ If the property classes were of

⁷³ Xen., *Cyr.* 2.5-16. Aeschin. 1.49, 2.167-168; Dem., *de falsa leg.* 304; Din. 3.15, 16.5 (Conomis); Lyc., *In Leocr.* 18; F5.8 (Conomis); Demad. F67 (Falco); Theoph., *Char.* 21.7; Arist., *Pol.* 6.1322a 24-29; Ephippus, *PCG* 5, p. 138; Philemon, *PCG* 7, p. 271; Apollodorus, *PCG* 2, p. 510; Menander, *PCG* 6.2, p. 220.

⁷⁴ Jeanmaire (1939) 540.

⁷⁵ *IG* XII.9 191 (315-305 BCE); Chankowski (1993) 36-43.

⁷⁶ A point made by Chankowski (1997) 340.

⁷⁷ Rosivach (2002) 42-47. de Ste. Croix (2004) 23-28 suggested that membership in a Solonian class actually depended on one’s ability to serve as either a hoplite or cavalryman, each of which required a certain degree of wealth.

⁷⁸ [Arist.] *AP* 7.4; Rosivach (2002) 46; Rhodes (1981) 145-146.

only token importance, then exclusion of the lowest from hoplite service may have been effectively a dead letter as well, subject to a similar practice of ‘don’t ask, don’t tell’.

A very close link existed between the ephebes and hoplites. Not only were ephebes trained to be hoplites and equipped with the essentials of hoplite armory, but the two year-classes of the ephebate were also essential to a reform in conscription of hoplites that took place in the early fourth century, in any case no later than 366.⁷⁹ The author of the *Constitution of the Athenians* makes this clear when he expatiates on the function of the eponymous heroes of the ἡλικίαι formed by each year’s crop of ephebes (53.7):

They also use the eponymous heroes for military campaigns, and whenever they send out an age class (ἡλικίαν) they announce publicly from which archon and eponymous hero until which the conscripts are to be drawn.

We know that the Athenians previously would draft soldiers “from a list” (ἐκ καταλόγου) whereby the general appointed to lead a campaign would draw up a list of suitable men. The method was slow, cumbersome, and open to abuse. In the first half of the fourth century it was replaced by a new method of conscription called “by eponymous heroes” (τοῖς ἐπωνύμοις) based strictly on age, with the troops called up according to their year class (ἡλικία). The earliest known campaign for which hoplites were drafted “by eponymous heroes” took place in 366, when an expeditionary force accompanied a baggage train to Phlius. In 352/1, the Athenians voted to mobilize soldiers “up to the age of forty-five” (Dem. 3.4). Aeschines mentions a decree from 347/6 authorizing conscription of men up to the age of forty for another naval expedition, with the same number of year classes called up for the disastrous Lamian War in 322.⁸⁰ Like the Spartans, who had long mobilized troops by year classes, the Athenians were quite likely calling up their eligible men in blocks of five ἡλικίαι.

In this new procedure, call up by eponymous heroes could have been possible only when there was an exact correspondence between the entire cohort of eligible Athenian males reaching ephebic age and the

⁷⁹ Christ (2001) 412-417.

⁸⁰ Aeschin. 2.133. The conscripts in the expeditions Aeschines and Demosthenes mention were probably hoplites who rowed themselves to their destination before disembarking: Christ (2001) 411 n. 50. Lamian War: Diod. Sic. 18.10.2.

first of the forty-two ἡλικίαι.⁸¹ In other words, all of the ephebes must have come from sectors of the population that were liable for hoplite service. If the Solonian classes were no longer functioning, from the time of introduction of the new conscription (386-366) and the institution of the ephebate (shortly before 372/1) — surely part of a large-scale overhaul of the training and deployment of Athens' armed forces — it seems reasonable to conclude that all Athenians would be *de facto* eligible for hoplite service, no matter the class to which they nominally belonged.⁸² Several factors tell against this, however. First, that Aeschines draws attention to his two years as an ephebe, even providing witnesses to support his contention, indicates ephebic service was not yet the norm for everyone (Aeschin. 1.49; 2.167). Second, a decree from 362/1 mentioned by Demosthenes ordered the extraordinary conscription of oarsmen from catalogues drawn up by members of the *boule* and the demarchs. Such a procedure would be necessary only if the names of potential naval personnel were not on the ἡλικίαι lists displayed in the Agora. Normally, naval service was voluntary. Third, the conscription of all Athenian citizens in five-year blocks for the land army would preclude any citizen within that age range from volunteering to serve in the fleet. As for the ephebate itself, the poor would have been prevented from participation by the expense, since no state subsidies were provided to ephebes before the Epicratean ephebate.⁸³ Few, if any, of Athens' poorest families could have borne the loss of their almost-adult sons' earning power for two years.

After Epicrates' reforms, which almost certainly provided the impetus for the ephebic subsidies mentioned in the *Constitution of the Athenians*, ephebes also received at the end of their first year of service a shield and spear — the absolute minimum armament to qualify as a hoplite. Many commentators have interpreted this as providing the means for all citizens, regardless of property class or economic circumstances, to pass through the ephebate and thus be eligible for conscription as hoplites.⁸⁴ This may have been the case, but, as de Ste. Croix pointed out, hoplite

⁸¹ Pélékides (1962) 99-100 assumes this equivalence in his account of the publication of the conscription lists.

⁸² Christ (2001) 417 also sees a connection between the two but thinks that the ephebate existed since the late fifth century.

⁸³ Xen., *Poroi* 4.51-52; Gauthier (1976) 190-195.

⁸⁴ E.g. Pélékides (1962) 113-114; Ruschenbusch (1979), (1988); Hansen (1985) 47-50; Sekunda (1992) 345; Burkhardt (1996) 35, 42.

service entailed not just the expense of a panoply but also the absence of adult males for considerable lengths of time on campaign, which would require hoplites to possess sufficient resources to maintain their households during those periods.⁸⁵ The problem of manning the fleet would still have remained, especially during the naval campaign of the Lamian War in 323/2, when all year-classes of hoplites up to age forty were called up to fight the land war in Thessaly.⁸⁶

But the most serious obstacle to the idea of complete participation in the ephebate is posed by demographic analysis. The citizen population of Classical Athens has been estimated at either ca. 21,000 or 31,000.⁸⁷ Luckily, the intense debates over which of the two figures is correct do not concern us, because the size of a graduating year-class of ephebes that has been calculated based on the extant ephebic lists from the 330s and 320s, approximately 500, is too small to represent 100% of Athenian nineteen-year-old males at either the high or the low population number.⁸⁸ In European pre-industrial societies, whose population structures are assumed to be the closest to those of Greece and Rome, nineteen-year olds constituted about 3 to 3.3% of the adult male population.⁸⁹ This means that in a citizen population of 21,000, 630 to 693 would have been nineteen, while in one of 31,000 the year cohort would have been 930 to 1023 strong. In addition, lists of *bouleutai* show that even demes from which very few ephebes came normally filled their quota of councillors. In other words, the number of councillors from these demes is higher than could be determined based on the number of their ephebes.⁹⁰ The significant difference in numbers between what the inscriptions attest and what demography leads us to expect indicates without a doubt that large numbers of young Athenian males simply did not pass through the ephebate. Physical disability, absence from the city as part of the family of a military settler (cleruch), certainly poverty, and

⁸⁵ de Ste. Croix (2004) 17. This would still have been the case after the introduction of army pay in the mid-fifth century.

⁸⁶ Diod. Sic 18.10.2. On service in the fleet, see Gabrielsen (1994) 106-107. To solve the manpower problem, Sekunda (1992) 312, 352 had the entire Athenian army withdraw from the siege of Lamia in 322 BCE to man the ships to fight the battle of Amorgos, only to return again just in time for another defeat at Krannon the same year (349-350). See the rebuttal by Hansen (1994) 308-310.

⁸⁷ The bibliography is immense and contentious. For an overview of the arguments and a defense of the higher figure, see Hansen (2006) 19-60.

⁸⁸ Ephebic numbers: Burkhardt (1996) 36-37; Hansen (2006) 34-35.

⁸⁹ Burkhardt (1996) 40; Hansen (2006) 34.

⁹⁰ Hansen (1985) 20-21.

possibly disinclination may have been among the causes for a youth not becoming an ephebe.⁹¹

Historians who acknowledge the impossibility of 100% citizen participation in the ephebate are forced to devise ingenious ways to explain how non-ephebes could still be Athenian citizens. Hansen proposed that while all young Athenians took the ephebic oath upon registration in the *ληξιαρχικὸν γραμματεῖον*, only those who actively participated in the program were named in the decrees at the end of the two years, the non-participants being considered “technically ἔφηβοι”.⁹² Davidson, who is concerned to prove that the *ἡλικίαι* were true age classes encompassing all Athenians, similarly believes that every Athenian male was assigned an age-class hero upon passing the *δοκιμασία*, but that not all appeared on the *stelai* erected in the Agora.⁹³ Since membership in a *ἡλικία* came with entrance into the ephebate, he and Hansen are essentially saying the same thing: every Athenian was technically an ephebe, although not all were active in the ephebate or later eligible for conscription. Unfortunately, the idea of ‘passive ephebes’ is supported by no ancient evidence whatsoever but stems from a common misconception about the relationship between ephebe and citizen in Athens.

A specious connection has long been made between passing through the ephebate and attaining citizenship. As we have seen from the references cited above, enrollment in the *ληξιαρχικὸν γραμματεῖον* and passing the *δοκιμασία* in the deme and before the *boule* quite clearly made one a citizen.⁹⁴ Consequently, ephebes were already citizens, but freed from legal entanglements for two years. Ephebes were drawn from the citizen body, the ephebate did not create the citizen body. In fact, they first appear in the *Constitution of the Athenians* when they have passed the *δοκιμασία* before the *boule* (42.2), and the author makes a clear distinction between citizens and ephebes at the end of the section: “Procedures concerning the registration of citizens and (concerning) the ephebes are like this.”⁹⁵ On the other hand, Lycurgus explicitly states that “all citizens” swore the ephebic oath when they were enrolled in the *ληξιαρχικὸν γραμματεῖον*. But we have already seen the orator silently

⁹¹ Hansen (1985) 18-20.

⁹² Hansen (2006) 38.

⁹³ Davidson (2006) 38 n. 41.

⁹⁴ Friend (2009) 24-25.

⁹⁵ [Arist.] *AP* 43.1: τὰ μὲν οὖν περὶ τὴν τῶν πολιτῶν ἐγγραφὴν καὶ τοὺς ἐφήβους τοῦτον ἔχειν τὸν τρόπον.

eliminating the possible two-month gap between registration and oath-taking, not to mention completely omitting the δοκιμασία by the *boule*, so he might easily also have exaggerated the extent of participation in the ephebate.⁹⁶

To sum up, the Athenian ephebate was what at first glance it appears to have been: a state-run training system for citizen warriors that was incorporated into an age-based system of infantry conscription. It was not, as commonly supposed, compulsory for all Athenians, though a great deal of social pressure was probably exerted on young Athenians to serve. Most important for the present argument, ἔφηβος was not the ancient name of an age grade nor the ephebate an expression of a coordinated system of comprehensive age grades and classes through which Attic society was structured. Many Athenians were not ephebes and did not belong to a ἡλικία. As well, there is no compelling evidence that either political or social life was structured according to age grades or classes. Athens was not an age-class society, and I doubt that the ἐφηβεία-ἡλικίαι nexus would qualify even as an age-class system.

Sparta has long fascinated. “Memorable not for the magnificence of its buildings, but for its discipline and institutions” was Livy’s characterization when referring to a visit by Aemilius Paullus in 168 BCE following his victory at Pydna (Livy 45.28.4). Famous Spartan institutions and customs have been studied, debated, and distorted over the millennia by philosophers, romantics, political scientists, and opportunists. The city’s distinctive image provided a touchstone for the Jesuit Joseph Lafitau’s pioneering descriptions of Amerindian culture in the early years of European settlement in North America and has over time become embedded in anthropological literature.⁹⁷ Classicists and ancient historians for their part have utilized insights drawn from the study of tribal societies in their attempts to explain analogous Spartan practices. In particular, it has long been accepted, from the time of Henri Jeanmaire’s *Couroi et courètes* in the first decades of the last century to recent work arguing Sparta was a generation-set society, that Spartans structured their lives along age-graded lines.⁹⁸ The only task that would appear to remain is to refine the age-based model utilizing the latest anthropological theory.

⁹⁶ Rhodes (1980) 194.

⁹⁷ Lafitau (1724) especially vol. 2, 284-289 (on education).

⁹⁸ Jeanmaire (1939) 503-512; Lupi (2000). Doubts expressed by Hodkinson (1997) 47.

But is this way of viewing Sparta just another manifestation of the Spartan ‘mirage’? Are modern scholars, for all their complex analytical and comparative tools, actually following in the footsteps of many of their ancient counterparts who, unwittingly or not, constructed Spartas that conformed to their own preconceptions of what this mysterious city should be like? No one would deny that grouping by age was a peculiarity of the Spartan citizen training system usually called the *ἀγωγή* (‘upbringing’), but that all of the population of full adult males (Spartiates) was so grouped is far from evident.

Before testing the evidence, we must understand that at Sparta the problem of informants becomes paramount. In contrast with Athens, we possess no testimony whatsoever from unselfconscious native witnesses, no information from anyone who had experienced life as a Spartan. The most influential texts on Spartan culture are by Plutarch of Chaeronea in central Greece, whose biographies of famous Spartans of the Classical period have profoundly shaped our conception of Spartan society and culture. But Plutarch lived five hundred years after the subjects of his Spartan *Lives* and was heir to a long tradition of outsiders writing about Sparta that had given rise to the phenomenon known today as the Spartan mirage. Because so little of substance was known about the city’s social institutions, commentators from as early as the fifth century BCE used Sparta as a blank canvas upon which to create their own utopian or dystopian visions. Plutarch was an enthusiastic receiver of and contributor to this mirage. Less affected but not entirely free of the mirage are the works of the much earlier writer Xenophon, an Athenian soldier of fortune and friend to King Agesilaus who knew the Classical city firsthand in the years after the Spartan victory in the Peloponnesian War and who reputedly had his sons enrolled in Sparta’s citizen training system. Apart from the useful information that can be found scattered in his other works, notably the *Hellenika*, his brief tract *On the Constitution of the Lacedaemonians* — the only surviving example of a well-populated genre of political treatises — is the richest source for the articulation of Spartan government and society in the fourth century BCE, although even it bears the traces of being an idealized vision of past practice rather than an absolutely accurate report of present-day customs. In the debate about Spartan citizen training in the Classical period, the question of the reliability of this evidence, particularly that preserved in late sources such as Plutarch, has been particularly intense, especially in reference to the names for the age groups and the question of breaks

in institutional continuity in the almost five hundred years between the Classical and Roman periods.⁹⁹

Luckily, the details under discussion are largely irrelevant, because, as mentioned, all students of Sparta agree that, in the Classical period, the city's training system was organized on the basis of age groups, however defined. Also beyond doubt is that this system was an age-class system, in which all the sons of Spartiate fathers and full-status Spartan mothers were obliged to enroll as the prerequisite for acquiring Spartiate status. Training began at age seven with entry into the *παῖδες* (boys) age grade and continued through the *παιδίσκοι* (teenagers) at twelve or fourteen and the *ἡβῶντες* (young men) at twenty, at which time the young Spartans began their forty years of eligibility for military service and could enter a common mess (*συσσίτιον*), membership of which was the basic requirement to maintain citizenship.¹⁰⁰ Only at thirty years of age did a Spartiate gain full rights to hold office and engage in economic activity.¹⁰¹ The mechanism of progress through these stages is unknown, though the males within each of them may have been distributed into separate annual grades. There is, in my opinion, no sound evidence however that these latter had specific names in the fifth and fourth centuries.¹⁰² There is no evidence at all for named age classes in any period of Sparta's history.

Under the general supervision of a civic official called the *παιδονόμος* ('superintendent of children'), boys in the *παῖδες* and *παιδίσκοι* grades were organized into *ἑται* ('companies'), a word with very strong military connotations.¹⁰³ Each company had a commander drawn from among the boys in the system, while in his absence any Spartiate might monitor their behavior (Xen., *Lac.* 2.10). The boys wore the same outer garment (*ἱμάτιον*), no matter what the season, that served as a sort of uniform.¹⁰⁴ Theft of foodstuffs was apparently practiced, though it is debatable whether it was carried out as a matter of course or was confined to certain ceremonial situations.¹⁰⁵ Very little indeed is known of

⁹⁹ See Kennell (1995) 3-14, 28-39; Ducat (2006b) xiv-xvi, 69-81.

¹⁰⁰ The main ancient sources are Xen., *Lac.* 1-4.6 and Plut., *Lyc.* 16-23.

¹⁰¹ Plut., *Lyc.* 25.1; Xen., *Lac.* 4.7; see Thommen (2003) 128.

¹⁰² On the age grades of Spartan training, see Kennell (1995) 28-39; Ducat (2006b) 71-77 argues that age-grade names preserved in later sources may go back to the Classical period.

¹⁰³ Xen., *Lac.* 2.2; Kennell (1995) 120.

¹⁰⁴ Xen., *Lac.* 2.4; Plut., *Lyc.* 16.12. Cf. Kennell (1995) 32-34.

¹⁰⁵ Xen., *Lac.* 2.7; Kennell (1995) 122-123; Ducat (2006b) 201-207.

the content of the system beyond a particular emphasis on physical training which elicited the criticism of Plato for its narrow focus and of Aristotle for its savagery (Plato, *Laws* 1.633c 8-d 3, 2.666e 1-7; Arist., *Pol.* 8.1388a 12-14). Central to the system was the shrine of Artemis Orthia on the west bank of the Eurotas river, where contests, most likely in singing and dancing, were held between individuals, who dedicated to the goddess sickles won as prizes.¹⁰⁶ A candidate for a promotional ritual, perhaps from the παιδίσκοι to the ἡβώντες class, has been recognized in a ritual mentioned by Xenophon in which one group of boys attempted to steal cheese from Artemis' altar while another group ward off with whips.¹⁰⁷

Among the more famous aspects of Spartan training was its apparent emphasis on communal living apart from the family, which has attracted much interest over the years as an indicator of the system's similarity to rites of passage or initiation in traditional societies.¹⁰⁸ According to the generally accepted view, youths lived apart from their families, housed in barracks throughout the many years of their service.¹⁰⁹ It has recently been pointed out, however, that such complete separation from family life as this implies is unlikely to have been inflicted on seven-year olds in the Classical period — Xenophon does not mention it — while we have some evidence for continuing close ties between fathers and sons.¹¹⁰ Perhaps the groups of boys were required to take their main meal together and only slept apart on certain, probably ritual, occasions.

One peculiarity sets Sparta's system apart from most other age-class systems: an individual could fail (Xen., *Lac.* 3.3). Immediate ejection from the system may not have been an option, though one young Spartan was exiled for homicide, but failure (however it was defined) would have brought disgrace and loss of Spartiate status, depriving the culprit of the 'good things' of the state — holding office and membership in a common mess (συσσίτιον) surely among them — and resulting in his inclusion among the class of Inferiors (ὑπομείονες) at adulthood.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁶ Kennell (1995) 126-127.

¹⁰⁷ Xen., *Lac.* 2.9; cf. Plato, *Laws* 1.633b 7-9; Kennell (1995) 127-128; Lipka (2002) 127-128; Ducat (2006b) 249-260.

¹⁰⁸ Brelich (1969) 116. See also the critique of Ducat (2006b) 184-186.

¹⁰⁹ Plut., *Lyc.* 16.13, 25.1. Brelich (1969) 125; Hodkinson (1983) 242; Kennell (1995) 242. Refuted by Ducat (2006b) 103-104.

¹¹⁰ Ducat (2006b) 124-125.

¹¹¹ Exiled Spartan: Xen., *Anab.* 4.8.25. Ducat (2006b) 155-159 considers failure "largely theoretical".

The Inferiors were a diverse class of free people who were either barred from or had lost full Spartiate status. Apart from νόθοι ('bastards') who had the misfortune of being born from the union of a Spartiate and a helot woman, the Inferiors included former Spartiates who had been unable to maintain their required mess contributions; τρόφιμοι ('foster sons'); foreigners who had passed through the training system; and τρέσαντες ('cowards'), who apparently did not suffer permanent loss of citizen rights and harsh social sanctions.¹¹² On the other hand, non-Spartiates could also enter the training system. The τρόφιμοι just mentioned would signal their family's political attachment to Sparta by becoming Inferior Spartans, while the μόθακες, who were sons of Inferior Spartiates, passed into the system as 'foster brothers' and might attain full Spartiate status afterwards as a reward for great deeds (*FGrHist* 81 F43). The most famous of these was Lysander, who led Sparta to victory in the Peloponnesian War (Plut., *Lys.* 2.1).

With entry into the ἡβῶντες grade, a Spartan became a Spartiate and began the transition from boy to full adult. Ἡβῶντες were members of the common messes and made the contributions of food and drink which were required of all citizens (Arist., *Pol.* 2.1271a 34-37). They were eligible for military service and, as the first ten military year classes (τὰ δέκα ἀφ' ἡβης), were often used as front-line shock troops. A sign of their intermediate position between boyhood and the possession of full rights as citizens, however, was that the παιδονόμος and ephors shared jurisdiction over them. If ἡβῶντες caught fighting — a constant occurrence according to Xenophon — did not break up when so ordered by an adult, the παιδονόμος would arrest them and bring them before the ephors for severe punishment.¹¹³ Xenophon stresses the intense competitiveness that was characteristic of ἡβῶντες, which was also played out in choral and athletic contests well worth hearing and seeing.¹¹⁴ This rivalry reached a peak with the annual selection of the corps of three hundred 'knights' (ἱππεῖς), which, despite its name, was a hoplite company that served as the kings' bodyguard in battle and was at the disposal of the ephors for special assignments at home.¹¹⁵ Every year, three men appointed by the ephors each publicly

¹¹² On the types of Inferior, see Cartledge (1979) 313-315. On the Tremblers, see Ducat (2005), (2006a).

¹¹³ Xen., *Lac.* 4.6; Kennell (1995) 121.

¹¹⁴ Xen., *Lac.* 4.1.2; cf. Pind. fr. 199 (Snell-Maehler).

¹¹⁵ Figueira (2006).

chose one hundred new ἱππεῖς, announcing the reasons for accepting some and rejecting others. Those rejected were on constant watch to catch the ἱππεῖς acting disgracefully, continually fighting them and the officials who picked other candidates (Xen., *Lac.* 4.3-4).

Many of these features are characteristic of age-class systems: the segregation, even if symbolic, of the members of the youths' age class; the fostering of a collective identity through special dress and activities not tolerated in other age grades; competitions reserved for specific age grades; and a propensity for violence in the young warriors' grade.¹¹⁶ But even if Spartan citizen training was an age-class system, there remains the question of whether its influence extended beyond the ἡβῶντες grade and the degree to which it shaped Spartan society as a whole. Was Sparta an age-class society or was the system attenuated, in that it covered only the years of transition from child- to adulthood?¹¹⁷

As mentioned above, most historians regard Sparta as a fully fledged age-class society. This view has been recently presented with cogency and in great depth by Marcello Lupi, who argues that Sparta was a particular type of age-class society in which the generational difference between fathers and sons is expressed in strict chronological/structural terms.¹¹⁸ In a generational system, sons enter an age grade that is separated from that of their fathers by a specific number of years or grades. For example, among the Oromo of Ethiopia the official distance between father and son is forty years, or five age classes.¹¹⁹ Generational systems always contain at any one time three main groups — sons, fathers, and grandfathers — which pass through the age grades in succession, the mechanics of which can become stunningly complicated.¹²⁰ Lupi has identified the ages of thirty, when Spartiates assumed full citizen and economic rights, and sixty, when Spartiates ceased to be liable for military service and became eligible for election to the Gerousia, Sparta's council of elders, as the turning points of a generational system that

¹¹⁶ Eisenstadt (1954) 110; Bernardi (1985) 66; Hazel (1999) 318-319; Tignor (1972) 281.

¹¹⁷ On attenuated age-class systems, see Stewart (1977) 131. Bernardi (1985) 41 classes societies where the age-class system is not the essential component of the society among the "secondary models".

¹¹⁸ Lupi (2000).

¹¹⁹ Bernardi (1985) 6.

¹²⁰ Müller-Dempf (1991) 555.

required legitimate sons be born thirty years after the birth of their fathers.¹²¹

Of particular interest are Spartan marriage customs, as described mainly by Plutarch, which comprised the seizure of the bride (probably just ceremonial) followed by a period of clandestine meetings — characterized by Lupi as “crypto-matrimonial” — which ended when the groom reached thirty and was allowed to produce offspring.¹²² In order to avoid accidental births during the crypto-matrimonial years, Lupi proposes that the couple engaged in homosexual-style sex, relying on a passage from the Hellenistic writer Hagnon of Tarsus.¹²³ The famous story of the Partheniae (Maidens’ Sons), born in unusual circumstances during the Messenian War, who set off to found Taras in South Italy following an unsuccessful attempt at a coup, he consequently interprets as a warning about the dangers of illegitimacy: in Spartan terms, being born before one’s father reached thirty.¹²⁴ This form of illegitimacy is also an issue in the notorious examination of newborn infants by tribal elders to determine whether they were healthy and well-formed and could survive or were to be left to die at the Apothetae on Taygetus (Plut., *Lyc.* 16.1-2). Lupi shows that a symbolic continuity existed in Greek thought between physical deformity and illegitimacy of birth, which in Spartan terms would be birth that did not conform to the thirty-year generational rule.¹²⁵ After passing the examination and receiving the right to inherit their father’s land, the healthy/legitimate male neonates of each year formed a new age class at the Tithenidia ceremony held during the festival of the Hyacinthia, which marked the annual promotion of age classes through the age grades.¹²⁶ At the age of twelve, their class would enter the training system and they would become παῖδες (‘children’), the first of the three main grades. At the other end of the generations, the class that became sixty would, upon entering the grade of grandfathers, cease to have the possibility of holding high military positions but would now be eligible for membership in the prestigious Gerousia. Drawing on anthropological parallels and late references to Spartan laws on marrying too early or too late, Lupi claims that Spartiates beyond the age of sixty were

¹²¹ Lupi (2000) 12-21.

¹²² Lupi (2000) 86-94.

¹²³ Athen. 602d-e; Lupi (2000) 65-71.

¹²⁴ Antiochus, *FGrHist* 555 F13; Ephorus, *FGrHist* 70 F216; Lupi (2000) 171-176.

¹²⁵ Lupi (2000) 115-132.

¹²⁶ Lupi (2000) 133-136, 141-147.

also banned from procreative activity, which was allowed only to those in the grade of fathers, between thirty and sixty years of age.¹²⁷

That Spartan society was structured according to a generationally based age-class system does seem to account for many of its peculiarities. Lupi's reasoning and methodology, however, contain several flaws. First, that conception was avoided until the husband reached thirty is belied by Plutarch's matter-of-fact statement that, as secret meetings by young couples lasted for "not a little time", some men had children before they saw their wives in daylight; he mentions no sanctions against the fathers of such 'illegitimate' children.¹²⁸ Second, the requirement for Spartiates to marry by thirty and produce legitimate offspring only after that age, when they would have entered the putative age grade of 'fathers', leads Lupi to accept as historical the punishments against celibacy (*ἀγαμία*), late marriage (*ὀψιγαμία*), and bad marriage (*κακογαμία*) found in late sources because they demonstrate the Spartan state's interest in marriage of the proper sort, at the proper age.¹²⁹ But of the three, only that against celibacy is corroborated by two independent sources, Xenophon and Plutarch. On the other hand, laws against *ὀψιγαμία* and *κακογαμία* first appear in the work of the Hellenistic Stoic philosopher Arison from which all other references are derived and cannot be traced back to the Classical period.¹³⁰

Be that as it may, according to Lupi, the rule requiring that marriage and legitimate conception occur soon after thirty years of age was so fundamental to Sparta's generation cycle that even heirs apparent to the kingship were not exempt.¹³¹ Chronology unfortunately throws up a striking counter-example in the form of Leonidas, hero of Thermopylae, who was married to his niece, Gorgo, daughter of Cleomenes I. Leonidas was born, most probably, no later than 540 BCE, while Gorgo, who was about eight in 499/8, would have been born in 507 or a little before.¹³² By the time of Cleomenes' death between 491 and 488 they were married, because Herodotus offers this as a chief reason for

¹²⁷ Lupi (2000) 114.

¹²⁸ Plut., *Lyc.* 15.9; Ducat (2006b) 117 n. 114 points out that this shows that sexual intercourse during the "crypto-matrimonial" phase was heterosexual in style.

¹²⁹ Lupi (2000) 105-106, 158.

¹³⁰ Arison *SVF* I fr. 400; Lipka (2002) 179, on which the preceding section depends.

¹³¹ Lupi (2000) 154.

¹³² Leonidas' birth: Lupi (2000) 168-169; Gorgo: Hdt. 5.51.

Leonidas' accession.¹³³ As Spartan women married late by Greek standards, between the ages of eighteen and twenty, Gorgo would have married Leonidas just before her father's death.¹³⁴ Although Gorgo's age at her marriage fits the paradigm proposed by Lupi, Leonidas' does not, for he can scarcely have been younger than fifty at the time of his marriage. Leonidas was not Cleomenes' heir apparent and so, according to Lupi, certainly would have been subject to the strictures on procreation soon after reaching thirty. Also, Gorgo was surely Leonidas' only wife, as no offspring other than their son Plistarchus is known (Hdt. 9.10; Paus. 3.5.1). Therefore, the only case where the ages of individual parties to a marriage in Sparta can be calculated with any degree of accuracy contradicts the idea that all Spartiates had to marry and produce children at approximately thirty.

In addition, Lupi's interpretation of the Partheniae story as a cautionary tale warning of the dangers of illegitimacy depends to a large extent on Justin's epitome of Pompeius Trogus' account, in which the Partheniae became concerned about being poor when they turned thirty and found it impossible to receive inheritances because they did not have socially recognized fathers.¹³⁵ The detail concerning the age of the Partheniae is of course crucial: Lupi stresses that it derives from Ephorus' account — “la cui dipendenza da Eforo è indiscutibile in virtù della corrispondenza a tratti quasi letterale” — and consequently reflects Spartan attitudes in the Classical period. But even a quick glance at both narratives reveals that they diverge significantly. As preserved in Strabo's *Geography*, Ephorus does not name the Partheniae's leader, whereas Trogus does, in a narrative that makes no mention whatsoever of their attempted rebellion, a feature of both Ephorus' (*FGrHist* 70 F216) and Antiochus' (*FGrHist* 555 F13) earlier accounts. Trogus' Partheniae simply decided to leave Laconia on their own initiative because of shame, not even bidding their mothers farewell, while according to Ephorus they left after a failed rebellion at the Lacedaemonians' suggestion, conveyed to them by their own fathers. Trogus was clearly following a source on the Partheniae substantially different from those of both Ephorus and Antiochus; in consequence, we cannot confidently trace the unique detail about their inheritances back to the Classical period.

¹³³ Death of Cleomenes: Cawkwell (1993) 511-514; Cartledge (1979) 131; Welwei (2004) 120-121; Thommen (2003) 40; Carlier (1977) 69. Marriage: Hdt. 7.205.1.

¹³⁴ Cartledge (1981) 94-95.

¹³⁵ Lupi (2000) 174; Justin 4.1-12.

In fact, Ephorus implies that the Partheniae did have socially recognized fathers, since they were used as intermediaries with the failed coup-plotters.

The historicity of the examination of newborn infants is also far from secure, as it occurs only in Plutarch in a Spartan context, appearing everywhere else in descriptions of imaginary, utopian societies.¹³⁶ In fact, Jean Ducat concluded that it was essentially a myth.¹³⁷ More than scholarly doubt can be marshalled against it. Although Lupi focuses on the examination's role in weeding out infants of illegitimate birth, his argument allows for the inclusion of the physically infirm among the undesirables. This presents us with a problem, for Agesilaus II was congenitally lame in one leg, yet passed through the citizen training system; he constitutes an exception among Spartan kings since heirs apparent were spared its rigors.¹³⁸ Not being first in line for the throne, Agesilaus underwent the training like other Spartiate boys. Logically, he must also have been examined by the elders after his birth because, even if, in the highly unlikely (and completely unattested) event that the heir apparent himself was exempted from the examination, there is no reason to suppose that other members of the royal family received the same privilege, so that Agesilaus' deformity would have led to his death. Perhaps the deformity was only slight and not considered serious enough to warrant exposure.¹³⁹ But that contradicts Plutarch's bald contrast between the "well formed and robust" child who can be raised and the "unhealthy and misshapen" child destined for the Apothetae (*Lyc.* 16.1-2). Agesilaus' very survival is strong evidence that this notorious practice was yet another fantasy of the Spartan mirage.¹⁴⁰

For Lupi, the examination of infants and the ceremony of the Tithe-nidia marked the opening of a new annual age class. As in a generation-

¹³⁶ Lupi (2000) 116 acknowledges these doubts, but intends "alle luce dell' ipotesi di ricerca formulata in questo libro" to assuage doubts as to its historicity.

¹³⁷ Ducat (2006b) 28. See also Huys (1996).

¹³⁸ Plut., *Ages.* 1.2-4, 2.2-3. Unaccountably, Lupi (2000) 199 states that his infirmity resulted from a fall, for which there is no evidence whatsoever. Plutarch's account makes it plain that he already suffered from this disability in his youth. See rather Cartledge (1987) 20 and n. 1.

¹³⁹ Cartledge (1987) 22.

¹⁴⁰ Another objection to the scrutiny's historicity, as reconstructed by Lupi (2000) 132-134, is that parents would have been forced to keep a deformed child for up to a year before its examination in the annual Cleaver ceremony, since fathers did not have the power to determine their newborn's fate (Plut., *Lyc.* 16.1). On exposure of infants, see Garland (1990) 84-93. I thank I. Greenslade for this insight.

set society, Spartan children would have entered the system essentially from birth.¹⁴¹ Characteristic of all age-class societies, however, is that their age classes and/or grades have names.¹⁴² No names for either are known before the age of seven, when our ancient sources report that young Spartans entered the training system as *παῖδες*.¹⁴³ Lupi, in contrast, believes that entry to the *παῖδες* grade took place at twelve, which would mean that for the first eleven years of their lives Spartans belonged to an age grade and class about which we have no knowledge at all.¹⁴⁴ Given the interest in the names of Spartan age grades among ancient writers, this lack is a sign that none existed.

On several occasions, Lupi uses “generational logic” or a variant to validate the evidence for a certain Spartan practice.¹⁴⁵ This rationale leads him to date Aristotle’s reference in the *Politics* to a Spartan law granting exemption from military duty to the father of three sons and freedom from all official commitments and taxes to fathers of four to a period after Sparta’s devastating defeat at Leuctra in 371 BCE, since such encouragement to conceive sons would have been incompatible with a system that restricted procreation to the extent that Lupi’s proposed system would have done.¹⁴⁶ This is certainly true. It has, however, been shown that, for Aristotle, the lawgiver (νομοθέτης) responsible for this and other Spartan legislation was always the legendary lawgiver Lycurgus.¹⁴⁷ Aristotle saw Sparta’s decline in his day as the inevitable result of fundamental flaws in the Lycurgan system itself, which he believed had originated many centuries before (*Pol.* 2.1333b 27-29). Thus, Aristotle did not consider this legislation particularly recent. Historically speaking, the period following Leuctra, when Spartans were so desperate for troops that they even considered recruiting helots and did in fact make great use of mercenaries, would seem an inopportune time to introduce a law that forced the city to forgo the currently available

¹⁴¹ Bernardi (1985) 145.

¹⁴² Müller-Dempff (1991) 555.

¹⁴³ Xen., *Lac.* 2.1; Plut., *Lyc.* 16.7; Kennell (1995) 117; Lipka (2002) 114-116.

¹⁴⁴ Lupi (2000) 36-43, 133-136.

¹⁴⁵ Lupi (2000) 103 (entry to the Gerousia), 113 (the power of adult Spartans to punish boys), 136-137 (limits on breastfeeding), 144 (elders assigning the right of inheriting land), 145 (Partheniae), 154 (exemption of heirs apparent from training).

¹⁴⁶ Arist., *Pol.* 1270a 39-1270b 6; Lupi (2000) 161-162.

¹⁴⁷ Schütrumpf (1994). Lupi (2000) 164 n. 72 concedes this but claims that “la vaghezza dell’ espressione lascia aperte altre possibilità.”

manpower in the hopes of greater resources about twenty years later.¹⁴⁸ Rather, the legislation reflects a long-term policy to maintain military resources adopted at a period, perhaps the fifth century or even earlier, when Sparta was strong enough not to need all its available citizen troops.

Around the middle of the sixth century is when Lupi would date the transformation of Sparta from a society loosely based on a generational principle but able to avoid unbearable tension between young and old through the availability of new land, mostly in conquered Messenia, to a quite rigidly structured generation-set society that severely restricted the opportunities for procreation. As territorial expansion had ceased by this date, “lo spazio si palesò come elemento costringitivo della realtà economico-demografica e si pose la necessità di frenare la crescita della popolazione”.¹⁴⁹ But Laconia was odd in that vast tracts of its land area lay uninhabited and uncultivated right down to the middle of the sixth century, when what the members of the Laconia Survey team call “rural colonization” began in earnest. In their survey area — the region of the Eurotas valley and the Parnon hinterland north-east of Sparta — no signs of settlement or exploitation were discovered before an explosion of activity which scattered settlements all over the land within a fifty-year period. Commenting on this impressive project, Catling wrote “this change required a massive effort in labor and manpower and presumably occurred in response to some pressing social or economic need”.¹⁵⁰ If, as he also argues, these findings can be thought representative of all Laconia, then shortage of land was probably not critical in the period when Lupi situates the introduction of a generation-set system and restrictions on reproduction.¹⁵¹ On the contrary, Sparta’s motives for acquiring Messenia in the previous century when it evidently had not even begun to exploit Laconia’s agricultural resources to any perceptible degree now come into question.

These objections cast significant doubt on the idea that all Spartan society was structured along generational lines. On the other hand, there are clear references to men gathered into annual age groups whose names are expressed in chronological terms from their coming of age.

¹⁴⁸ Xen., *Hell.* 6.5.28-29; Arist., *Pol.* 2.127a 29-32; Arr., *Anab.* 2.13.4; Curt. 4.8.15; Plut., *Ages.* 33.3-5. Cartledge (1987) 232-235, 382-392.

¹⁴⁹ Lupi (2000) 185.

¹⁵⁰ Catling (2002) 160.

¹⁵¹ Catling (2002) 156.

The most often mentioned are ‘those ten (years) from majority’ (τὰ δεκά ἀφ’ ἡβης), the young men between the ages of twenty and thirty.¹⁵² Lupi sees in this evidence for annual age classes encompassing all Spartans up to the age of thirty (the ἡβῶντες), which also articulated a break between those older and younger than thirty. He points out that certain types of combat were thought appropriate to these young adults and, on occasion, also to the youngest of the next age group, those aged thirty to thirty-five.¹⁵³ However, τὰ δεκ’ ἀφ’ ἡβης was not the only age-based grouping of adult Spartiates. There were also ‘those fifteen (years) from majority’ (τα πεντεκαίδεκα ἀφ’ ἡβης) (Xen., *Hell.* 4.5.16, 4.6.10), ‘those thirty-five’ (τὰ πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα ἀφ’ ἡβης) (Xen., *Hell.* 6.4.17), and even ‘forty (years) from majority’ (τὰ τεσσαράκοντα ἀφ’ ἡβης) (Xen., *Hell.* 5.4.13; 6.4.17). It is no coincidence that these groups cover the forty years from twenty to sixty years of age, because at Sparta, as elsewhere, that was the period of eligibility for conscription. Nor is it accidental that all of these expressions occur in military contexts, for, like the Athenian practice it evidently inspired, the Spartan habit was to call up troops for campaign in blocks of five year-classes.¹⁵⁴ Xenophon (*Lac.* 11.2) tells us, “first, then, the ephors announce the year classes in which they must serve as cavalry and hoplites, then also in which as artisans.”

The ἡβῶντες were not the only Spartiates divided up into year classes. All those of military age were similarly grouped. More than that, Xenophon implies here that the artisans (χειροτέχναι) and the cavalry also served according to year class. Of the two groups, the χειροτέχναι must have been completely — or perhaps almost completely — composed of non-Spartiates, since these were famously freed from all banau-sic distractions to concentrate on honing their hoplite skills.¹⁵⁵ Cavalrymen too were mixed, though probably again non-Spartiates predominated. Xenophon’s harsh characterization of the cavalry at the time of Leuctra as “dreadful” (πονηρότατον) and “the weakest physically and least ambitious of soldiers”, along with his use of the same word (συντεταγμέ-

¹⁵² τὰ δέκα ἀφ’ ἡβης: Xen., *Hell.* 2.4.32, 3.4.23, 4.5.14, 5.4.40; *Ages.* 1.31.6.

¹⁵³ Lupi (2000) 44–45, 51.

¹⁵⁴ Toynbee (1969) 369.

¹⁵⁵ Notwithstanding Herodotus’ report of Spartan disdain for craftsmen (2.167), there is some reason to believe that a few Spartiates may have engaged in production of certain goods, at least in the sixth and early fifth centuries: Hodkinson (2000) 178–179 (Spartan sculptors etc.); Boss (2000) 197 (Spartan workshops making lead votives); Catling (2002) 226 (Sparta as production center).

voς) to describe the enlisted man who received his horse in this passage and the Inferiors in the army (συντεταγμένοι) on whom the seditious Cinadon was going to rely to procure weapons for his abortive rebellion after the Peloponnesian War, indicate that non-Spartiates were commonly utilized in Sparta's mounted forces.¹⁵⁶ The two Spartiates Xenophon mentions among the dead cavalymen, along with one of the περίοικοι, after a Theban attack on Agesilaus' forces in 378 BCE may well have been officers.¹⁵⁷ Thus, conscription by year class applied to περίοικοι, Inferiors, and very probably other non-Spartiates who served in various ancillary capacities, as well as to Spartiates themselves. It seems highly unlikely that perioikic society was organized into exactly the same age-class structures as have been thought to exist at Sparta. As for the Inferiors and other non-Spartiates, their very exclusion from Spartiate status would naturally have entailed exclusion from membership in such age classes. That the perioikic cities were culturally similar to Sparta and shared in its military tradition, as convincingly argued by Ducat, does not imply, in the absence of supporting evidence, that they were also organized strictly along age-class lines.¹⁵⁸ Rather, the inclusion of different sorts of Lacedaemonians in the ἀφ' ἥβης system indicates that the grades were not expressions of an all-encompassing age-class system. Rather, as in the case of the Athenian ἡλικίαι, they had a purely military significance in that they functioned as the basis of conscription.¹⁵⁹

Our admittedly meager store of evidence furnishes no indication that these particular age blocks had any importance in Spartan politics, administration, social life, or cult practice. A good example is the famous three choruses (τριχόρια) that sang at Spartan festivals.¹⁶⁰ According to our ancient sources, three choruses divided by age sang short songs in

¹⁵⁶ Xen., *Hell.* 3.3.7. See also Cartledge (1979) 313-314.

¹⁵⁷ Xen., *Hell.* 5.4.39; Lazenby (1985) 12.

¹⁵⁸ Ducat (2007) 78-82. The fifth-century victory dedication from perioikic Geronthrae referring to a τριετέρες (*IG* V.1 1120), which recalls the Spartan term εἰρήνη, simply shows that Spartan age nomenclature was imitated there. Similar practices can be found at Messenian Teuthrone and Messene in the late Hellenistic and Roman periods: Roy (1961); Themelis (2000) 91. On the significance of the two age designations, see Kennell (1995) 118-119; Ducat (2006b) 99-100 (*contra*).

¹⁵⁹ περίοικοι might be thought incapable of carrying out the maneuvers attributed to the Lacedaemonian army if they fought alongside Spartiates, but see Hodkinson (2006) 134-135.

¹⁶⁰ On the Spartan τριχόρια, see Kennell (1995) 68-69; Ducat (2006b) 268-271 assigns them to the Gymnopaideia festival.

which the oldest recalled their former martial prowess, the group in the middle boasted of their present valor, and the youngest claimed they would be braver still (Plut., *Lyc.* 21.3; *Mor.* 238a-b, 544e; schol. ad Plato *Laws* 1.633a; Poll. 4.107). The youngest choir is always described as being that of ‘boys’ (παῖδες) — young Spartans before the age of majority — while the members of the other two are variously described as ‘men’ (ἄνδρες), ‘in their prime’ (ἀκμάζοντες), ‘men in their prime’ (ἄνδρες ἀκμάζοντες), or ‘young men’ (νεανίσκοι) in the middle chorus, and ‘elders’ (πρεσβῦται or γέροντες) in the eldest. Seeing an important division between ἡβῶντες and full citizens above the age of thirty, Lupi identifies the men’s chorus as the ἡβῶντες and the elders’ as men over thirty, since he sees a substantial correspondence between the Spartan custom and the passage in the *Laws* where Plato expressly excludes men over sixty from singing in a festival of three choruses.¹⁶¹ The Spartan τριχόρια does not appear to have been organized strictly on the basis of either the ἀφ’ ἡβης system or according to a putative cycle of generations, however. The various names given to the members of the second choir emphasize their members’ status as full adult Spartiates, active in the defense of their city. Of the three titles, ἄνδρες has the widest application, denoting adults from twenty years onwards, while ἀκμάζοντες and ἄνδρες ἀκμάζοντες denote men in their physical prime, usually at or shortly after thirty years of age (Arist., *Rhet.* 2.1390b 9-11; Teles [Hense]² p. 50; Poll. 2.11). Νεανίσκοι was often used for young adults between the ages of twenty and thirty, in this sense later becoming a designation for the organizations of young citizens who served as civil defense forces in Hellenistic cities.¹⁶² Overlapping these usages somewhat is the application of νεανίσκοι to warriors in a citizen army regardless of their age, in the equivalent of the present-day expression ‘our boys’ for soldiers in a national army.¹⁶³ These last two connotations were probably foremost in the mind of the Roman-era author who penned the original text from which derived the *scholion* to Plato’s *Laws* describing the middle choir as that of νεανίσκοι.¹⁶⁴ After all, the τριχόρια was structured around military service — those about to serve,

¹⁶¹ Lupi (2000) 42-43; Plato, *Laws* 2.664d 1-2.

¹⁶² Gauthier & Hatzopoulos (1993) 177; Sacco (1979); Dreyer (2004) 214-216.

¹⁶³ Moretti (1950); *I. Iliou* 73; Launey (1949-1950) 860; Polyb. 4.16.6, 4.76.8-9, 5.30.1, 5.30.2, 5.96.7.

¹⁶⁴ Schol. ad Plato *Laws* 1.633a. On the date of the sources for Platonic scholia, see Greene (1937).

those currently serving, and those who had previously served — making it natural to term νεανίσκοι men under military obligation who performed together in public festivals. Taken together, the various designations for the middle chorus indicate it was composed of men around the age of thirty — some probably younger, some older — but who corporately stood for all those Spartiates from twenty to sixty liable for conscription. Consequently, the chorus of elders must have been composed of men over the age of sixty who, at Sparta as elsewhere, were no longer obligated to serve in the army (Poll. 2.11). Furthermore, their song makes sense only if sung by men who were no longer active warriors. Thus, by representing all ages from childhood onwards, the members of the three choruses embodied all members of the Spartiate community as potential, present, or past soldiers. The division was not between younger and older hoplites or between incomplete and complete citizens, but between those who were warriors and those who, by reason of their age, were not.

More than military age grades, another institution played a significant role in the lives of adult Spartans. From the age of twenty onwards, all Spartiates were required to eat nightly at a common mess, when not prevented by military duty or political office. Known as the φιδίτιον, the Spartan common mess was undoubtedly the linchpin of Spartan society, for its fifteen members were required to contribute fixed amounts of foodstuffs monthly to maintain their Spartiate status.¹⁶⁵ Xenophon was careful to emphasize what he saw as the essential difference between the Spartan institution and dining clubs found elsewhere in Greece (*Lac.* 5.5):

For indeed in other cities for the most part men of the same age mess with each other, under which circumstances proper behavior is little in evidence. But Lycurgus in Sparta mixed... so that the younger members might be educated by their elders' experience.

Despite the defect in the manuscript that, of course, occurs at the crucial point, Xenophon's meaning is clear: members of a φιδίτιον came from different age groups. Which age groups? Given that φιδίτια seem to have been integral to the organization of the Spartan army, in that three combined likely constituted an ἐνωμοτία, the smallest military unit, we

¹⁶⁵ Size of συσσίτιον: Plut., *Lyc.* 12.3; Thommen (2003) 130-132. Contributions and citizenship: Arist., *Pol.* 2.1271a 32, 2.1272a 7. On the contributions, see Figueira (1984); Hodkinson (2000) 190-193.

should expect that their membership would be confined to those liable for conscription from twenty to sixty years of age, in other words, those in the Spartan 'warrior grade'. But this is not the case. While admission to the common mess took place at about twenty, Spartiates over sixty years old were also members, since successful candidates for the Gerousia, whose minimum age was at least sixty, are described as returning to their common mess after election and being treated to a double portion of food (Plut., *Lyc.* 26.7). A Spartan would thus have spent a portion of every day in the company of his fellow mess-mates of widely varying ages — far more time than he would have spent with other members of his 'age class'.¹⁶⁶ The process by which a young Spartan became a member of a *φιδίτιον* is unclear: either he chose one on his own initiative or, more likely, his membership was effected by his *ἐραστής*, the older lover with whom he had formed a relationship during his time as a *παιδίσκος* and who had already introduced the youth to his own *φιδίτιον* as a guest.¹⁶⁷ Whatever the procedure, it would have involved the incorporation of young *ἡβῶντες* individually into the citizen body, not *en masse*, which is often a feature of such transitions in age-class societies when a class moves into the next grade and, as a corporate entity, takes up that grade's associated rights and privileges.¹⁶⁸

Even the Spartan army was not organized mainly along age lines like the age-based regiments of the Zulu army under Shaka, which were made up exclusively of men in the same age class.¹⁶⁹ Instead, each unit, with the exception of the three hundred elite *ἱππεῖς*, who were all *ἡβῶντες* and brigaded separately, drew its manpower from different age groups between twenty and sixty.¹⁷⁰ Within the *ἐνωμοτία*, to be sure, there is reason to believe that the warriors took up positions in the ranks according to age, with the *ἡβῶντες* (*τὰ δεκα ἄφ' ἡβης*) in the front and the other age blocks in ascending order behind.¹⁷¹ As previously noted,

¹⁶⁶ Ducat (2006b) 103-104 casts considerable doubt on the idea, derived from Plut., *Lyc.* 15.7-8, that *ἡβῶντες* spent their nights in special barracks with their age-mates until they reached the age of thirty.

¹⁶⁷ Plut., *Lyc.* 19.9; Hodkinson (1983) 251-253; Singor (1999) 75-77.

¹⁶⁸ Bernardi (1985) 4; Foner & Kertzer (1978) 1086. Admittedly, some age-classes, such as those of the Kikuyu, which were formed annually, are not particularly coherent and passage from one grade to the next can be effected by individuals: Tignor (1972) 277.

¹⁶⁹ Fortes & Evans-Pritchard (1958) 26.

¹⁷⁰ Hodkinson (1983) 255.

¹⁷¹ At Lechaion in 390 BCE, the Spartan commander first sent out *τὰ δεκα ἄφ' ἡβης* to pursue Iphicrates' light-armed troops, and, when they suffered heavy losses, he

ephors determined the strength of the ἐνωμοταί in terms of the number of ranks each contained by announcing which age blocks would be sent out on campaign (Xen., *Lac.* 11.2).¹⁷² But the army's overall unity and effectiveness came not from age-group solidarity but from the communities created by membership in Sparta's common messes.¹⁷³

Spartiates over the age of sixty were freed from the obligation to fight as hoplites. They could expect great respect from younger Spartans and, as we have seen, remained members of their common messes and certainly might attend the Assembly. There was also the possibility of being elected to the Gerousia, the twenty-eight member Spartan senate. In combination with the kings or the ephors, the Gerousia, whose members had lifetime tenure, played a significant role in governing Sparta.¹⁷⁴ Such a body might superficially resemble the councils of elders in age-class societies made up of members of the most senior age class; in fact, H. de Bras called it "le conseil des Anciens ouvert aux citoyens de plus de 60 ans".¹⁷⁵ Unlike those councils, however, where membership depends upon attaining the highest age grade as a member of a specific age class, the Gerousia was not simply open to all citizens over sixty with a membership that changed whenever a new 'age class' of Spartans reached the appropriate age.¹⁷⁶ Lifetime tenure in a body with a membership expressly limited to twenty-eight meant that very few vacancies would have occurred in the Gerousia each year.¹⁷⁷ Also, election to the "prize of excellence," as several ancient authors termed it, seems effectively to have been confined to the Spartan elite (Dem. 20.107; Arist., *Pol.* 2.1270b 23-6; Plut., *Lyc.* 26.2). Aristotle consistently places it among the aristocratic elements of the Spartan constitution, stating that the style of election favored the interests of a clique of wealthy families, who viewed membership as a reward for their services and who identified their interests with those of the state for that reason.

dispatched τὰ πεντεκαίδεκα ἀφ' ἥβης as reinforcements (Xen., *Hell.* 4.5.11-17). The natural conclusion is that the ἡβῶντες were stationed in the front ranks and the next five-year block right behind them. See Lazenby (1985) 12. This crucial point is missed by Persky (2009) 77, 81.

¹⁷² Xen., *Lac.* 11.2.

¹⁷³ Fornis & Casillas (1997) 42.

¹⁷⁴ Kennell (2010) 109-112.

¹⁷⁵ Le Bras (2003) 29.

¹⁷⁶ This procedure contrasts with that of age-class societies where Elders have to relinquish power *en masse* to the next class: Bernardi (1985) 30.

¹⁷⁷ For the number of members of the Gerousia, see Plut., *Lyc.* 6.1-2.

The *demos*, on the other hand, had access to the powerful office of the ephorate and, while not able to enter the Gerousia itself, had the right of electing its members.¹⁷⁸ Aristotle's explanation makes it clear that age was not the single most important factor in joining the Gerousia, since inherited rank was at least as important, effectively excluding the majority of Spartiates.

Something similar may be said of Spartan society as a whole. Age was undoubtedly a factor in social relations, but as regards crucial aspects of Spartan life, among them marriage, the army, the common messes, and entry into the Gerousia, other considerations were at play to the extent that they took precedence. Only during the years spent in the training system were Spartans grouped together and identified predominantly by their age. Moreover, for Sparta to qualify as an age-class society, even an attenuated one, as suggested above, Spartan society must be so narrowly defined as to exclude all the Inferiors and *περίοικοι*, who fought, worked, and (at least in the case of the Inferiors) lived beside Spartiates. Since the number of Spartiates dwindled constantly during the Classical period, a process known to ancients and moderns as *ὀλιγανθρωπία* (shortage of manpower), Spartan society so defined would include only a small minority of the total population in the early fourth century.

Turning to our third test case, we encounter some familiar problems. Like those of Sparta, Crete's customs and laws were the subject of extensive discussion in antiquity. Crete had its own 'mirage', through which lens philosophers and historians saw the island as home to a conservative or even backward society that had preserved many practices and habits of thought long since extinct in the major cities of mainland Greece (Ephorus *FGrHist* 70 F149; Arist., *Pol.* 2.1271b-1272b; Nic. Dam. *FGrHist* 90 F103 aa2). The ancient view of Crete was characterized by the influential idea of a common *πολιτεία* for the island, a single constitution by which all cities were governed, commonly attributed to Minos, the mythological king of Knossos. This idea has been argued to have been an error resulting from a lack of information on the constitutional situation of the Cretan cities in the late Classical period

¹⁷⁸ Arist., *Pol.* 2.1270b 23-26, 4.1294b 29-30, 5.1306a 16-19; de Ste. Croix (1972) 353; Birgiliis (2007) 345-349.

when the treatises were being composed.¹⁷⁹ Recognizing that the Cretan πολιτεία was a construct of political philosophers rather than a historical reality problematizes the relationship between the epigraphical evidence from individual cities and the extant literary evidence, which presents a homogenous picture of ‘Cretan’ customs without explicit reference to any city.¹⁸⁰ Still, the pendulum should not be pushed too far in the other direction, as evidence for similar institutions existing in various cities indicates that Cretans tackled their individual concerns in broadly the same ways.¹⁸¹ Most importantly, Crete is where the least ambiguous evidence for age-grade, if not age-class, systems is to be found.

The literary evidence is almost entirely derived from the work of Ephorus of Cyme, a prolific fourth-century historian. His *Europe* contained much about Crete, of which Strabo has preserved an extensive fragment. As Ephorus’ account still provides the foundations for practically all modern reconstructions of Cretan society, it deserves close examination, but before proceeding, we should attempt to appreciate the nuances of his remarks. Granted that Ephorus reflected the widespread idea of a single Cretan πολιτεία, although that word does not appear in the passages securely attributed to him, he almost certainly did not believe that the single πολιτεία was still operating throughout the island in his own time.¹⁸² When arguing that the similarity of Laconian to Cretan customs was due to their invention by the latter and perfection by the former, he wrote:

the truth is that [the customs] were invented by [the Cretans] but brought to their peak by the Spartiates, and the Cretans denigrated them when their cities, especially Knossos, were despoiled. Some of the military customs are followed by the Lyttians and Gortynians and some other statelets, rather than by [the Knossians] (*FGrHist* 70 F149).

¹⁷⁹ Perlman (1992) 196-199, where she cites several statements in the literary record which are belied by the inscriptions. Admittedly, most other scholars treat Crete as a constitutional unity. See van Effenterre (1948) 27-28; Huxley (1971) 505-507. Link (1994) 78 n. 6 does point out the diversity of Crete’s population.

¹⁸⁰ The single exception is Dosiades’ account of dining customs at Lyttos (*FGrHist* 458 F2).

¹⁸¹ Chaniotis (2005b) 188-190.

¹⁸² πολιτεία does appear in Polybius’ discussion of Ephorus’ work on Cretan institutions (*FGrHist* 70 F148) and in Strabo’s introduction to the quotation that follows (F149).

Ephorus plainly recognized that only a few, mostly insignificant, city-states still preserved the laws laid down by Minos, and like Xenophon's account of the Spartan constitution, his description of the customs of Crete must in consequence be seen as a self-conscious rendering of a more-or-less imaginary past, when all the laws were in force and every Cretan city held to the same customs.¹⁸³

Ephorus may have believed that the best set of original customs was to be found at Lyttos, in central Crete. The city does seem to have figured prominently in discussions of the priority of Laconian to Cretan customs, since it was a Laconian colony that kept up its ties with Sparta.¹⁸⁴ He dismissed the idea that Lyttos proved the Spartans' customs were older than the Cretans', however, on the grounds that it was not reasonable to retroject from the present situation into the past, since many colonies did not preserve the traditions of their *metropoleis* and Cretan cities other than Lyttos also had similar customs. Within the discussion of the role of Lyttos as an intermediary between Sparta and Crete, Ephorus took a position in which he argued that Cretan customs predated the Laconian and were thus less highly developed. It is quite possible that the customs he presents as generically Cretan were, in fact, those of Lyttos, but epigraphic evidence that would confirm or invalidate this hypothesis is lacking.¹⁸⁵ Polybius, clearly no admirer, criticized his predecessor scathingly for equating Sparta and Crete:

Ephorus used the same language apart from the names when he composed his treatise on the two of them, so that unless one pays close attention to the proper names, one could in no way distinguish which is being described.¹⁸⁶

This criticism is corroborated by a passage in a fragment of Diodorus Siculus' account of the Spartan constitution, derived from Ephorus, which assigns practically the same motives to the lawgiver at Sparta as Ephorus had to Minos (Diod. Sic. 7.14.3-4).¹⁸⁷ If Ephorus himself

¹⁸³ Xenophon (*Lac.* 26) admits that the laws of Lycurgus were not unchanged in his own time. For nostalgia in the *Constitution of the Lacedaemonians*, see Kennell (1995) 165.

¹⁸⁴ Arist., *Pol.* 2.1271b 24-30; Perlman (1992) 200-201.

¹⁸⁵ Dosiades' description of the pooling of resources for the συσσίτια at Lyttos is introduced by Athenaeus as an example of a generically Cretan custom (*FGrHist* 458 F2): see Perlman (1992) 201.

¹⁸⁶ Polyb. 6.46.10. On this passage, see Walbank (1970) 1.726-728.

¹⁸⁷ Walbank (1970) 1.727.

thought that not all the practices he described were still in existence on Crete in his own time, then the need for caution in correlating his evidence with the inscriptions, especially those postdating him, becomes even more acute. One or two points of congruence between Ephorus' account and the epigraphic record of any single city is insufficient evidence for the existence in that city of all the other traditions of the Cretan πολιτεία as he described them.

In the first section of the lengthy fragment of the *Europe* transmitted by Strabo, Ephorus establishes the underlying principles of Cretan cities and describes how they were inculcated into the young (*FGrHist* 70 F149). In order to establish and maintain concord, the lawgiver introduced an egalitarian system. The salient points of this system were the grouping together of children into 'herds' (ἀγέλαι) and the common messes (συσσίτια/ἀνδρεῖα) for adult men, who were fed at public expense in order to prevent friction between rich and poor. Interestingly, the single surviving fragment from another account of Cretan institutions, Dosiades' *Cretica*, concerns the pooling of resources for the common messes at Lyttos, which again hints at an origin there for much of the peculiarly Cretan customs described in the fourth century (*FGrHist* 458 F2). According to Ephorus, boys were reared together in an overtly militaristic atmosphere, their bodies trained to withstand fatigue and extremes of temperature. In the gymnasium, they engaged in individual athletic contests distinguished for their violence, probably boxing and the *pankration*, as well as participating in mock combat. Cretan boys learned archery, like youth everywhere in the Greek world, as well as dancing in armor. Finally, adult Cretans wore military dress and footwear.

Following this survey of the motivation behind the Cretan upbringing, Ephorus goes on to provide more details about its components and functioning (*FGrHist* 70 F149 = Strabo 10.4.20):

Children learn their letters and the legally-required odes and certain types of music. Now they bring those who are still quite young into the men's common messes. Seated on the ground, they consume their food with one another in light tunics, wearing the same clothing both winter and summer, and they serve themselves and the men. Those from the same mess join battle against one another and against other messes. A παιδονόμος presides over each men's mess (ἀνδρεῖον). The bigger children are brought into the ἀγέλαι; the most prominent and strongest of the children bring the ἀγέλαι together, each gathering as many as he can. Generally, the chief of each ἀγέλη is the father

of the boy who brought it together, with the authority to take them out hunting or racing and to punish the disobedient. They are fed at public expense. On certain prescribed days, ἀγέλη joins battle with ἀγέλη in rhythm to the accompaniment of flute and lyre, just as they are accustomed to do in battle, and they sustain blows, some by hand, some by wooden weapons.

The obvious and striking similarities between the Cretan system as Ephorus described it and the Spartan upbringing as it was understood by outsiders reflects an ancient tradition that Sparta's legendary lawgiver Lycurgus sojourned on Crete (Hdt. 1.65; Arist., *Pol.* 2.1271b 24-7; Plut., *Lyc.* 4.1). Both societies placed an unusual emphasis on military education, apparently disregarding the 'liberal arts' apart from traditional songs and dances that were ordained by law.¹⁸⁸ Spartan and Cretan boys were compelled to wear the same clothing winter and summer.¹⁸⁹ They were both under the jurisdiction of superintendents of children, although, in contrast to Crete, Sparta only had a single παιδονόμος.¹⁹⁰ The notorious fights held between Spartan youths had their counterparts on Crete too, when boys, the younger attached to an ἀνδρεῖον, the elder as members of an ἀγέλα, battled it out with one another. The major difference between the two systems came in the role of adults. At Sparta, the ἵλα ('brigade') was under the command of the most capable of the youths, but on Crete the father of the one who had formed an ἀγέλα from his friends had disciplinary power over its members and took them out to hunt or race.¹⁹¹

Of Ephorus' entire depiction of Cretan training institutions, epigraphy can confirm only two elements unequivocally. Ἀγέλαι did exist at least at Eltynia and Dreros, in the period before Ephorus wrote, and foot racing was important.¹⁹² That the κορός (dancing ground) and συνβολήτρα (exercise ground) mentioned in an Eltynian law on assault may be the locations respectively of dances and mock battles similar to those Ephorus mentions is also possible.¹⁹³ We should remember, however, that the law as it is preserved does not allude to the presence of any ἀγέλαος, as members of an ἀγέλη were known, in either of these

¹⁸⁸ Kennell (1995) 125-126.

¹⁸⁹ Kennell (1995) 32-34.

¹⁹⁰ Kennell (1995) 120-121.

¹⁹¹ Kennell (1995) 120.

¹⁹² Seelentag (2009) 150-154.

¹⁹³ Bile (1997) 117.

places.¹⁹⁴ The dangers of an unquestioning faith in Ephorus are particularly manifest in the case of Cretan marriage customs. According to Strabo,

[Ephorus] has said that the most important aspects of Cretan customs are the following. All are required to marry along with those who had finished their term in the ἀγέλα of children at the same time. They do not bring their child brides home immediately, but when they are competent to manage a household. A bride with brothers brings as her dowry half of a brother's share of property (*FGrHist* 70 F149).

The account is plausible, to the point of employing the participle ἐκκριθέντες (lit. “having undergone an exit examination”) to describe leaving the ἀγέλα.¹⁹⁵ Suggestive anthropological parallels for collective marriage, which can be found in certain age-class societies, also exist.¹⁹⁶ But Ephorus' testimony is flatly contradicted by the Gortyn Law Code's sections on the marriage of heiresses examined below. The individual marriages called for there are not part of any collective ceremony. The Code also implies that males could marry before reaching the rank of citizen or ‘runner’ (δρομεύς), which according to Ephorus would be impossible.¹⁹⁷ The Gortynian rules have been characterized as an innovation in traditional practice, an explanation that at least concedes Ephorus was not always describing customs current in his own day.¹⁹⁸ The Code does not introduce the right of individual marriage as a reform, however; on the contrary, its prior existence is implicit in the regulation specifying property rights in cases where a physically mature man who was still legally a minor refused to marry a nubile heiress. Which Cretan cities, if any, ever practiced collective marriage cannot be determined from Ephorus.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁴ Hesych. s.v. ἀγελάουσι: τοὺς ἐφήβους Κρήτες. E.g. Willetts (1955) 13.

¹⁹⁵ For this use of ἐκκρίνω, see *SIG*³ 578 (Teos).

¹⁹⁶ Among the Shavante people of Brazil, a collective marriage rite is celebrated between members of a newly-formed age-class, who have just completed a ritual race signifying their attainment of the rank of ‘young men’, and their sometimes underage brides, whose marriages are consummated when they reach sexual maturity; see Bernardi (1985) 68-69.

¹⁹⁷ Col. VII, ll. 29-47 (Koerner [1993] no. 174).

¹⁹⁸ Willetts (1967) 23.

¹⁹⁹ Pałuchowski (2005) 433 and 439 interprets the epigram *IC* III.iv 38 as evidence for collective marriage of an entire age class at Itanos, but see the comments of Chaniotis, *SEG* LV 995.

We are on a sounder footing in the matter of Ephorus' famous description of Cretan pederasty (*FGrHist* 70 F149 = Strabo 10.4.21):

Their custom as regards love affairs is peculiar as well. For it is not by persuasion that they win over the objects of their affection but by seizure. [The lover] tells the friends three or more days before that he is going to effect a seizure; for them to hide the boy away or not allow him to travel his normal route is an act of utter disgrace, since they are acknowledging that the boy is unworthy to obtain such a lover. They meet and, should the lover be among the boy's equals or superiors in status or other respects, pursuing him they take hold of him but only gently, satisfying the custom, otherwise they happily turn him over [to the lover] to lead away; if he is unworthy, they take him away. The pursuit terminates when the boy is brought into the ἀνδρεῖον of his abductor. They find desirable someone who is distinguished not by his beauty but by his courage and decorum. And after giving him presents, the abductor takes the boy into whatever place in the country he so wishes; those present for the abduction follow along. After feasting and hunting together for two months, since it is not allowed to keep the boy longer, they return to the city. The boy is released after receiving a military outfit, a bull, and a cup (these are the traditional gifts), as well as very many other luxurious gifts, so that the friends have to make joint contributions because of the mass of gifts. He sacrifices the bull to Zeus and feasts those who returned with him. Then he reveals the facts of his relationship with his lover — whether or not he happened to receive gratification or not — the law granting him this, so that, if any force was applied to him during the seizure, then it is possible for him to take revenge and depart. For those who are beautiful in appearance and of distinguished ancestry not to obtain lovers is a disgrace, on the grounds that this happened to them because of their lifestyle. “They who stand beside” (παρυσταθέντες), for so they name those who have been seized, have privileges: in the dances and the races (δρόμοι) they have the most honored places, they are allowed to adorn themselves differently from the others with the outfit they were given by their lovers. Not only at that time, but even when they become adults (τέλειοι) they wear distinctive garb, from which each is recognized as having become distinguished. For they call the beloved “distinguished” (κλεινόν) and the lover a paramour (φιλήτωρ).

Excavations in the sanctuary of Hermes Kedrites at Kato Syme on the south slope of Mt. Dikte in central Crete have produced convincing confirmation of the outlines of Ephorus' testimony.²⁰⁰ Hermes, worshipped here as a hunting god, received many votive bronze plaques, ranging in

²⁰⁰ Lebessi (1985) 188-219; (2002) 269-282.

date from the early Iron Age to the Classical period. The plaques depict a variety of subjects: goats, bearers of offerings, hunters capturing and binding ibexes, mature men and youths carrying bound animals, and men in ἱμάτια, as well as a large number of hunters (bearded or not) with bows.²⁰¹ One important example shows an older, bearded archer accompanied by a beardless youth carrying a bound animal over his shoulders.²⁰² The excavator made a solid case for associating these finds with a hunting custom like the one Ephorus describes. The bronze figurines also found at the site depict warriors, a flagellant, a cupbearer, archers, and flute players.²⁰³ Of particular interest is a small piece that shows two helmeted male figures both with prominent erections — the taller and possibly older one seemingly leading his smaller, younger (?) companion by the hand.²⁰⁴ This group the excavator associates with Ephorus' account of the introduction of young Cretans into the ἀνδρεῖα by their older lovers. The offerings may have been dedicated as part of the round of gift-giving and feasting that marked the conclusion of a hunting expedition: animal bones and fragments of cooking pots attest to communal feasting at the site.²⁰⁵

Since the publication of these plaques, Kato Syme has become a feature in discussions of the transition from youth to manhood on Crete.²⁰⁶ Bolstered by such impressive archaeological evidence, Ephorus' account has been linked with various festivals known from the Hellenistic period that marked the graduation of young men from the ἀγέλα. Identified as rites of passage in which the youthful hunters went out into the liminal barrens before returning to take up the mantle of manhood, the hunting expeditions have been fitted neatly into the set of rituals traditionally undertaken by Greek youths as they approached the age of majority. Upon completion of this 'training in the mountains', during which the youths may have been called 'the shadowy ones' (σκότιοι) — duly interpreted as alluding to their social invisibility in the liminal period — the boys returned to the city, where at a civic festival they donned the military clothing they had received as a gift from their lovers.²⁰⁷ Some

²⁰¹ Lebessi (1985) 21-57.

²⁰² Lebessi (1985) 52-53 (Γ5).

²⁰³ Lebessi (2002) 219-234.

²⁰⁴ Lebessi (2002) 214-219 (pl. 15).

²⁰⁵ Lebessi (1985) 196.

²⁰⁶ Chaniotis (1991) 103; Watrous (1998) 68-69.

²⁰⁷ Schol. ad Eur. *Alc.* 989: Κρητες δὲ τοὺς ἀνήβους σκοτίους λέγουσιν. Hunting expeditions as coming-of-age ritual for all youths: e.g. Willetts (1955) 120, (1962) 45;

scholars, including the excavator herself, have noticed that Ephorus does not say that every Cretan youth was taken out hunting, but nearly all assume that it marks coming of age as an adult.²⁰⁸

Leaving aside the question of which specific Cretan cities practiced the customs in the form Ephorus describes and accepting that the archaeological evidence does bear out the general framework of his description, serious objections still remain to any interpretation that associates the seizure (ἄρπάγη) with the transition of Cretan youths to social maturity. First, as has been noted, not all Cretans became παρασταθέντες, only those from the best families. It was an institution of the elite from which lesser youths were expressly excluded. Second, Ephorus clearly implies that some time passed between the youths' return from hunting and their becoming adults (τέλειοι). During this period, *before* becoming adults, they were distinguished from their fellows by their title, 'they who stand beside', by their military dress, and by the special places reserved for them at civic events such as dances and races. When they reached the age of majority, they continued to be set apart by their special clothing and another title, that of 'distinguished' (κλεινός). The seizure of boys did not mark a transition in age but an elevation in status that κλεινοί retained for their entire lives.

The age of the boys is another factor. With rare exceptions, the normal age for a boy to be the object of an older man's desire was between twelve and seventeen, when his beauty reached its peak.²⁰⁹ Hesychius tells us that Cretans entered the ἀγέλαι at age seventeen, while it is generally accepted that Cretans left the ἀγέλαι around the age of twenty (Hesych. s.v.). If the παρασταθέντες' seizure marked the attainment of manhood, then, it must have taken place just before they reached twenty years of age. But it would be quite contrary to Greek practice for an affair to be initiated with someone who was almost old enough to take the active role in such a relationship himself.²¹⁰ In addition, the term 'shadowy ones' (σκότιοι) was applied by the Cretans to immature boys,

Watrous (1998) 68-69; Vidal-Naquet (1986) 117; Chaniotis (1991) 104.

²⁰⁸ Anderson (1985) 26; Lebessi (1985) 190; Link (1994) 25-26; Gehrke (1997) 34; Brelich (1969) 199; Garland (1990) 176-177; Capdeville (1995) 198-199; Graf (2003) 14-15, in an otherwise acute article; Link (2009) 97. A notable exception is Muellner (1998) 18-20.

²⁰⁹ Reinsberg (1989) 164-170; Buffière (1980) 609-611. *Pace* Davidson (2007). See the reviews of Brook (2008) and Verstraete (2009).

²¹⁰ This anomaly was noticed by Link (1994) 126 and n. 20, who characterized such relationships as "reine Homosexualität".

ἄνηβοι (schol. ad Eur. *Alc.* 989). This word was used generally in Greece for boys below the age of ἡβῶν or ἔφηβος and is attested on Crete with exactly the same significance.²¹¹ If the σκότιοι actually were the boys who went out hunting, then they were younger than ἀγέλαιοι.²¹² Consequently, they were seized not before they became adults, but before they became ἀγέλαιοι, which points toward a clearer explanation of the interval Ephorus implies occurred before a παρασταθείς became an adult: it coincided with time he spent in the ἀγέλαι.²¹³ A possible role for the παρασταθέντες also suggests itself. Dressed in their special clothing, with honored places in public events, the παρασταθέντες make good candidates for “the most conspicuous and powerful of the boys” who gathered others together into the ἀγέλαι. Ephorus uses similar terms to describe the formation of the ‘herds’ (“the older boys are led [ἄγονται] into the ἀγέλαι”) and the introduction of a boy to his lover’s common mess (“when the boy is led [ἄχθῃ] into the ἀνδρεῖον”). The seizure of high-ranking boys thus may have been the ceremonial preparation for the formation of each year’s array of ἀγέλαι in certain Cretan cities. In other words, it would have signaled the opening of a new age class for membership. Although we cannot definitively know when this took place, the closing may well have been in the month of Hyperboios. In the Hellenistic period, young men graduated from several cities’ citizen training systems during that month, and a seventh-century law from Dreros lays down the 20th of Hyperboios as the deadline for “everything to do with the ἀγέλαι”.²¹⁴

Although not influenced by the same philosophical tendencies as the literary evidence, even the epigraphical evidence is not without its own pitfalls. The earlier texts, almost without exception legal texts from the Archaic period and the fifth century, are a relatively rich source of age nomenclature in which it is possible to distinguish between types of designations. Treaties from the third and second centuries BCE give some idea of youths’ activities in the mid-Hellenistic period in that they often require graduating ephebes to participate in annual ceremonies to renew

²¹¹ Col. XI, line 19; *IC* II.v 25A, ll. 6, 7 (Axos); Bile (1988) 343.

²¹² Jeanmaire (1939) 426 first made the connection between the σκότιοι and the ἀπάγελοι, boys too young for enrollment in the ἀγέλαι.

²¹³ Willetts (1962) 47, 285-286 understood this, although he believed it related to all youths, not just the elite. Percy (1996) 64-67 also noticed that the seizure was not to be associated with the attainment of adult status. However, he thought that boys were seized at age twelve, on no evidence.

²¹⁴ Seelentag (2009) 154-155.

alliances. But a century-long gap in evidence between the latest law code and the earliest treaty makes it unclear how many of the details of the Hellenistic ephebic systems can be traced back to the sixth or even the fifth century. The fourth-century literary material simply cannot bridge this hundred-year gap, despite the optimism of many modern scholars, because it represents philosophical idealization, not precise historical description. Hellenistic Crete shows clear signs that its cities were drawn into the wider Hellenic cultural and institutional community, especially as regards its citizen training systems, where seemingly ancient, unique age designations conceal a reality close to the Greek norm. For this reason, I will refer only to the later period when Hellenistic usage can illuminate earlier practice.

Apart from the Drierian law mentioned above, the legal texts come from three cities: Eltynia, Eleutherna, and Gortyn.²¹⁵ Eltynia supplies a single inscription, probably from the late Archaic period, a law prescribing penalties for assault. After setting out the fines parents would have to pay if their underage son injured another boy, the law widens its focus to include assault committed by adults and youths on children.²¹⁶ The relevant passage begins, “If a man should strike the boy”, then mentions several localities where the offense might take place — the men’s common mess, the ἀγέλα, the exercise ground, the dancing ground, and perhaps the area where young men congregated, before concluding in obscurity with an unidentifiable offense committed by a person called an ἀγέλαος against the boy.²¹⁷ The appearance of the word ἀγέλαος, denoting the specific condition of belonging to an ἀγέλα, in the same context as the common words for boy and man indicates that it had a similar universal application to all members of an age group. Consequently, this text implies strongly that all young free males of citizen status belonged to ἀγέλαι at Eltynia, as well as that the terms ἀγέλαος and ἀγέλαοι were applied to them outside the specific context of the

²¹⁵ The harvest from Eleutherna is meager indeed. An Archaic law regulating drinking, probably during a festival, at an extra-urban sanctuary seems to forbid δρομεῖς from drinking there except in a group. Since a δρομεύς was an adult citizen (see below), all we can glean from this is that here, too, partaking in full citizen rights entailed running in a footrace; van Effenterre (1991).

²¹⁶ *IC* I.x 2. For a useful, line-by-line discussion of this inscription, see Koerner (1993) 342-349.

²¹⁷ *IC* I.x 2, ll. 5-7: [αἰ] δέ κ’ ἀνήρ: τὸν πεῖσκειν παῖτι: μὴ [- - -] τὸν: ἢν ἀνδρῆιοι: ἢν ἀγ[έ]λα[ι]: ἢ συν[β]ολήτραι: ἢ ‘πὶ κορδοῖ: ἢ ‘πὶ νηο[.....]: η[- - -] αἰ δέ κ’ ἀγέ[λ]α[ος]: τὸν πεῖσκειν: ὄνη[- - -] ἃ ἡγρᾶται.

training system. Ἀγέλαος, then, meets the criteria for being an age grade designation.

The fullest articulation of age categories on Crete is found at Gortyn, almost entirely in the sections of the Great Law Code of the fifth century BCE that deal with inheritance and marriage rights.²¹⁸ Curiously, despite the Gortyn Code's richness of detail, the terms ἀγέλα and ἀγέλαος appear nowhere in the document. Instead, we find the other well-known Cretan age-grade name, δρομεύς, also attested in the Spensithios decree that probably comes from Lyttos.²¹⁹ Based on the explanation by Aristophanes of Byzantium of the contrasting term ἀπόδρομος, which also appears in the Code, as "ephēbes who do not yet participate in the public δρόμοι", the δρομεύς ('runner') was evidently an adult male eligible to run in public races or δρόμοι.²²⁰ In the Code, witnesses to the identification of a slave whose ownership was disputed or to the division of inherited property were required to be δρομεῖς.²²¹ Likewise, transfers of legal title to property from husband to wife could be done only in the presence of three or more free δρομεῖς.²²² In contrast, sons too young to be δρομεῖς were ineligible to give legal consent to their fathers' alienation of property bequeathed to them by their mothers.²²³

The predominance of inheritance cases has recently been explained as evidence that δρομεῖς formed a distinct social group in Cretan cities which was equivalent to the bodies of νέοι known elsewhere: young men between the age of twenty and thirty with somewhat circumscribed citizenship rights who formed the bulk of a city's military forces and who are widely attested in the Hellenistic period.²²⁴ The appearance of δρομεῖς in military and festival contexts in other, later Cretan inscriptions might lend some weight to this argument, but the traditional interpretation — that δρομεῖς were simply adult citizen males — must

²¹⁸ The Gortynian Code is most easily accessible in the following editions: *IC* IV 72; Willetts (1967) 39-50 (with English translation); Koerner (1993) nos. 163-681 (sections re-arranged thematically with German translation).

²¹⁹ Gortyn Law Code: Col. I, ll. 41-42; col. III, ll. 21-22; col. VI, line 36; col. VII, line 41 (Koerner [1993] nos. 163, 167, 170, 174). Spensithios decree: Side A, line 10. On the decree, see Jeffrey & Morpurgo Davies (1970).

²²⁰ Aristophanes of Byzantium 48 (Slater 1986): ἀπόδρομοι ἐν Κρήτῃ, οἱ μὴ πῶ τῶν κοινῶν δρόμων μετέχοντες ἔφηβοι. For the interpretation of a δρόμος as a public race, not a gymnasium, see Tzifopoulos (1998) 157.

²²¹ Col. I, ll. 39-44; col. V, ll. 51-54 (Koerner [1993] nos. 163, 169).

²²² Col. III, ll. 17-22 (Koerner [1993] no. 167).

²²³ Col. VI, ll. 31-36 (Koerner [1993] no. 170).

²²⁴ Tzifopoulos (1998) 154; followed by Chaniotis (2005b) 185.

prevail.²²⁵ The apparent similarity to the situation of Athenian ephebes in the fourth century, who were disqualified from participation in all lawsuits except those involving inheritances, is illusory. Important here is the requirement that the men acting as witnesses be *δρομεῖς*. In none of these instances is it implied that the witnesses may be older than that age through the use of a formula such as ‘witnesses no younger than *δρομεῖς*’.²²⁶ The bald use of the noun without any such qualification indicates that the persons were to be of *δρομεῖς* age when serving as witnesses. Therefore, if the term *δρομεύς* applied only to young men between the ages of twenty and thirty, only they would have been qualified to bear witness in these cases. This would have resulted in the situation, quite unbelievable in a Greek *polis*, of men over the age of thirty being disqualified from taking part in certain legally valid transactions. The *δρομεῖς* who acted as witnesses were thus simply men over the age of majority, which in the absence of any evidence to the contrary we may assume was the Greek norm of around twenty years of age.²²⁷

That becoming a *δρομεύς* signaled the beginning of legal existence as an adult male becomes clearer in one particular case that involved the perennially messy problem of property ownership after a divorce. A man of more mature years was required to witness the filing of a suit against a woman who was accused of taking away more than her legal share of the property.²²⁸ The Code states that the witness is to be “a *πεντεκαιδεκάδρομος* or older”. The meaning is elucidated by Hesychius’ gloss of the word *δεκάδρομοι*: “Those who have spent ten years among the

²²⁵ *δρομεῖς* at festivals: Chaniotis (1996) no. 50, ll. 8-11 (Hierapytna and Knossos); no. 60, ll. 10-14 (Lytos and Olous); no. 61A, line 44 (Lato and Olous).

²²⁶ Col. I, ll. 41-42 (Koerner [1993] no. 163): ἀντὶ μαίτυρον δυοῖν δρομέων ἐλευθέρον; col. III, ll. 21-22 (Koerner [1993] no. 167): ἀντὶ μαίτυρον τρητὼν δρομέων ἐλευθέρον; col. V, ll. 51-54 (Koerner [1993] no. 169): δατιομέννοι δὲ κρέματα μαίτυραλς παρέμεν δρομέανς ἐλευθέρονς τρίνς ἔ πλίανς.

²²⁷ See Willetts (1955) 11-12. A similar provision appears in ll. 5-10 of side A of the Spensithios decree (Jeffrey & Morpurgo Davies 1970), where Spensithios and his descendants are to serve as public scribes, unless he himself or a majority of his sons who are *δρομεῖς* (ὅσοι δρομῆς εἴεν) persuade the authorities to appoint someone outside the family.

²²⁸ Col. XI, ll. 46-55 (Koerner [1993] no. 166): γυνὰ ἀνδρὸς ἃ κα κρίνεται, ἢ ὁ δικαστὰς ὅρκον αἱ κα δικάσκει, ἐν ταῖς *ῥικατι ἀμέραις ἀπομασάτο παριόντος τῷ δικαστᾷ*, ὅτι κ’ ἐπικαλεῖ. *προφειπάτλο* δὲ ὁ ἄρκον τᾶδ <δ>ίκας τᾷ γυναικὶ καὶ τῷ δικα<σ>τᾷ καὶ [τ]οι ἢ μνάμονι προτέταρτον ἀντὶ μαιτύρος πεντεκαιδεκαδρόμο ἢ ἔ πρίγονος.

men taking part in the *δρόμος*; from the Cretans".²²⁹ A *πεντεκαιδεκάδρομος*, in other words, was someone who had become a runner fifteen years earlier. Probably because of the sensitive nature of this legal situation, a higher age requirement was introduced, so that the witness would be at least thirty-five years old.

The *δρομεύς* appears in one other section of the Code that regulates the title of property when an heiress (*πατροιδκος*) was married off to an eligible relative. Since it provides a complete series of age names in use at Gortyn in the fifth century, it is of particular interest and thus worth quoting in full:

If the eligible relative or the heiress is not of age (*ἄνορος*), the heiress is to have the house, if there is one, and the eligible relative is to obtain half of the produce; if the eligible relative who is not yet of legal majority (*ἀπόδρομος*) but of age (*ἐβίον*) does not wish to marry her, though she is of age (*ἐβίονσαν*), all the possessions and crops remain with the heiress until he does marry her; if the eligible relative who is of legal majority (*δρομεύς*) does not wish to marry her, although she is willing to marry, the relatives of the heiress shall bring the matter to judgment, and let the judge order him to marry within two months.²³⁰

The age names form a continuous series: *ἄνορος*, *ἐβίον/ἐβίονσα*, *ἀπόδρομος*, and *δρομεύς*. The first three terms, *ἄνορος*, *ἐβίον*, and *ἐβίονσα*, refer to physical development, relating specifically to puberty. *Ἄνορος* seems to have been used for prepubescent children and is related to the word *ἄωρος*, 'untimely, unmarried', while *ἐβίον* and *ἐβίονσα* are simply the dialectal forms of *ἡβῶν*, 'having reached physical maturity'.²³¹ These terms can be applied to both males and females, whereas names that refer to the attainment of citizen status, *ἀπόδρομος* and *δρομεύς*, can be used only of males. An *ἀπόδρομος*, as we have

²²⁹ Hesych. s.v. *δεκάδρομοι*: οἱ δέκα <ετη> ἐν τοῖς ἀνδράσι <δρόμου μετ>εσχηκότες, ὑπὸ Κρητῶν.

²³⁰ Col. VII, ll. 29-47 (Koerner [1993] no. 174): ἃ δ' ἐκ' ἄνιρος ἔι ὁ ἐπιβάλλον ὀπιέν ἐ | ἃ πατροιδκος [σ]τέγαν μὲν, αἱ | κ' ἔι, ἔκεν, τὰν πατροιδκον, ταδ | δ' ἐπικαρπίας παντὸς τὰν ἐμλίναν ἀπολανκάνεν τὸν ἐπιβάλλοντα ὀπιέν. αἱ δέ κ' ἀπόδρομος ἰὸν ὁ ἐπιβάλλον ὀπιέν ἐβίον ἐβίονσαν μὲ λῆι ὀπιέν, ἐπὶ τὰι πατροιδκοι ἐμειν τὰ κρέματα πάντα καὶ τὸν κλαρπόν, πρεῖν κ' ὀπιέι. αἱ δέ κα | δρομεύς ἰὸν ὁ ἐπιβάλλον ἐβίονσαν λείονσαν ὀπιέιθαι μὲ λῆι ὀπιέν, μολέν τὸς | καδεσάνς τὸς τὰς πατροιδκο, ὁ δὲ δικαστά[ς] δικ[α]κσ[ά]το ὀπιέν ἐν τοῖς δ[υ] οῖς μεινσί.

²³¹ On *ἄνορος*, see Bile (1988) 343; Chantraine (1999) s.v. *ἄωρος*, ὥρα. In one other part of the Code, the synonym *ἄνεβος* appears (Col. XI, ll. 18-19).

seen, was a young man who did not participate in the public races at Gortyn, in other words, one who did not yet enjoy the rights of a citizen (δρομεύς).²³² In the Hellenistic period, the transition to adulthood in several Cretan cities was marked by a ritual footrace, and we can safely suppose a similar ceremony took place in fifth-century Gortyn to mark the right of its participants to run in the public δρόμοι.²³³ The Cretan predilection for and expertise in running is well attested, but such races were not a particularly Cretan phenomenon. Footraces were a ubiquitous component of ancient Greek civic festivals and were commonly associated with the young and fertility.²³⁴ That a footrace marked the coming of age in Cretan cities fits well into the larger Greek cultural context.

In the second contingency covered by the aforementioned section of the Code, the two frames of reference — physical development and social integration — intersect. Should the eligible relative be unwilling to marry the heiress, although he is both ἐβίον and ἀπόδρομος and she is also ἐβίονσα, she maintains possession of all her property until such time as he should marry her.²³⁵ This clause makes it clear that the period spent as an ἐβίον was not coterminous with that of being an ἀπόδρομος. Although an ἄνθρωπος by definition lacked the rights of an adult citizen, the same could not necessarily be said of someone who had reached physical maturity, since the eligible relative did not attain his legal majority simply by becoming an ἐβίον. Conversely, that the term ἐβίον had to be qualified by ἀπόδρομος in this case indicates that, by itself, it did not denote a lack of citizen status. In other words, someone who was simply described as an ἐβίον might have enjoyed full citizen status and been a δρομεύς.

This analysis is confirmed by another inscription from Gortyn that concerns the legal process for suits involving objects worth ten staters or more.²³⁶ After specifying which gods can be invoked, it regulates who

²³² It is important to note that the word ἄνηρ is used in the Code only to mean 'husband', never 'adult male': Col. II, ll. 22, 45, 48, 52-53, 54; III, ll. 2, 17, 38, 46; V, line 9; VI, line 10; VIII, line 30; X, line 15; XI, line 46; XII, line 1 (Koerner [1993] nos. 164-169, 174).

²³³ Chaniotis (1996) nos. 50, 60, 61A. On these inscriptions, see below.

²³⁴ E.g. Homer, *Od.* 8.108-109, 119; Hdt. 6.126; Pindar, *Pyth.* 9.105-120; Paus. 3.12.1-2. See also Jeanmaire (1939) 279; Hatzopoulos (1994) 46-47.

²³⁵ Actual physical development seems to have been less important for females, as heiresses were marriageable at age twelve: Col. XII, ll. 17-19 (Koerner [1993] no. 167).

²³⁶ *IC* IV 51 (Koerner [1993] no. 139): Θιοί· ὁμνύμην δὲ δικάκ[σαι τὸν Ζῆλνα καὶ τὸν] Ἀπέλλωνα καὶ τὰν Ἀθαναίαν καὶ τὸν Ἑρμαον, σ[- - -] μῆδ' ἐνα ἄλλον τιὸν ὀνυμαινέτο. τῷ δεκαστατήρῳ καὶ πλί[ονος . . .] - - μ]ὲν κ' ὑλὺνς οἷ κ' ἡβίοντι

can be called on to help the parties in the suit swear the oath (*Eideshelfer*). These auxiliaries can be the litigants' sons who are of age and have full citizen rights (ἡβίοντι καὶ πολιτεύονται) or the sons of these persons (i.e. the litigants' grandsons) who are also of age (τ[ούτων υἱὸν οἱ κ' ἡβίο]ντι). Duly noting that the reference to grandsons is contained within a restoration, albeit a universally accepted one, we can see that it complements precisely the schema of ages presented in the Code. Coming of age as ἐβίον and attaining the rights of citizenship were not simultaneous events, nor did becoming a citizen (πολιτεύων) entail ceasing to be ἐβίον. Also, that the litigants' sons who were ἐβίοντες with full citizen rights could themselves have sons who were ἐβίοντες shows indisputably that the term ἐβίον was not the equivalent of ἀπόδρομος, but referred to all physically adult males.²³⁷ The inscription, in effect, defines the terms ἀπόδρομος and δρομεύς found in the Law Code: those who had come of age and were citizens (ἡβίοντι καὶ πολιτεύονται) were δρομεῖς, whereas those who had only come of age (ἡβίοντι) were ἀπόδρομοι.

At Gortyn certainly, and possibly elsewhere on Crete, two age grades did exist to which all future and current citizens belonged: ἀπόδρομος and δρομεύς. No age grade older than δρομεύς is attested, with the word 'elder' (πρεῖγυς and its variants) being used for members of a Council similar to the Spartan Gerousia, who were elected from among the leading civic magistrates, the κόσμοι.²³⁸ The promotion ritual by which ἀπόδρομοι attained adult status in the Classical period probably involved running a footrace and, if we can extrapolate back from Hellenistic evidence, a formal disrobing before the race accompanied by the swearing of loyalty oaths. This information comes from the several treaties between various cities on the island that are the characteristic epigraphical document of Hellenistic Crete, the treaty of alliance. The texts require that the terms of the treaty be publicly proclaimed and oaths be sworn by the citizens of each allied city in the presence of representatives from the other, after which the treaty was to be re-read and the

Ι καὶ πολιτεύονται καὶ τ[ούτων υἱὸν οἱ κ' ἡβίο]ντι ὁμνύμην πάντανς Ι Φιναντῶι
 Ἑέκαστον ἐπιαιρό[μενον ἢ μὲν Ι κακίστοι] ὀλέτροι ἐκσόλλυθαι, τὸ[ν] μαίτυρανς
 αὐτὸν Ἑέκασ[τον καὶ τὸν]ς ἀδευπι]όνς οἱ κ' ἡβίοντι κῆς τὸ α[ὐτ]ῶ πατρὸς ἴοντι
 κ' ἀδαιτηῖ [- - - Ι - - -]ρονς αὐτὸν Ἑέκαστο[ν - - -].

²³⁷ Pace Gehrke (1997) 37.

²³⁸ Arist., *Pol.* 2.1272a 7-12, 33-35; Link (1994) 112-215.

oaths re-sworn annually by the cities' ephebes.²³⁹ The ritual activities took place at various festivals on the island, for example, the Thiodaisia at Hierapytna and Lato, the Hyperboioi at Malla, and the Periblemaia (or Periblemata) at Lyttos.²⁴⁰ The ceremony at which the ephebes were to swear the oath is described in one of two ways, either as "whenever the ἀγέλαοι disrobe" or "whenever the ἀγέλαοι begin to run". Since the term δρομεῖς is also attested in this period in several cities, the two activities (disrobing and running) can be associated naturally as part of a set of ceremonies marking the end of ephebic service and the commencement of public life.²⁴¹ Whenever it can be dated, the festival at which this ceremony took place occurred towards the end of the civic year, as we would expect.²⁴²

A myth from Phaestus has plausibly been interpreted as providing an aetiology for one such festival at that city.²⁴³ According to a late source, the Ekdysia were celebrated to commemorate Leto's transformation of a girl into a boy, who immediately threw off his female attire (Ant. Lib. *Metam.* 17). The story is of a well-known type that refers to the attainment of manhood in symbolic terms as a turning away from female things; Achilles' revelation of his true, manly nature in the harem on Skyros is another version of the same tale. Its applicability to a ceremony marking the coming of age with disrobing and racing is manifest, especially as the name of one festival, the Periblemaia of the Lyttians, means 'the donning (of clothing/arms)'.²⁴⁴

Great importance was attached to the annual re-swearing of the oaths of alliance. Senior officials from each city would witness their partner city's ephebes taking the oath; substantial fines were to be levied in the event that magistrates neglected to have the oath re-sworn; sometimes common athletic contests and dances were held by the parties to the treaty.²⁴⁵ The participation of the ephebes every year was essential, because only through the re-swearing of the oath by a new crop of

²³⁹ Chaniotis (1996) 97; *IC* I.xvi 5, ll. 20-30; I.xviii 9, ll. 8-11; *SEG* XLI 742.23-26.

²⁴⁰ Thiodaisia: Chaniotis (1996) no. 59, ll. 28-39 (Hierapytna and Lato); no. 61A, ll. 20-30 (Lato); Hyperboioi and Periblemaia: Chaniotis (1996) no. 11, ll. 16-26 (Malla and Lyttos).

²⁴¹ Chaniotis (1996) no. 50, line 8 (Hierapytna and Knossos); no. 60, line 13 (Lyttos and Olous); no. 61 line 44 (Lato and Olous).

²⁴² Guarducci (1945).

²⁴³ Leitao (1995) 131-132.

²⁴⁴ Leitao (1995) 131.

²⁴⁵ E.g. *IC* I.viii 13, ll. 16-21; I.xvi 5, ll. 20-30; I.xix 1, ll. 16-26.

citizens could the treaty be validated for the upcoming year. For all citizens to be bound by the terms of the treaty, each and every citizen had to swear the oath.²⁴⁶ Thus, all citizens had to have passed through the ἀγέλα, which remained compulsory in these cities as it had been at Eltyntia several centuries before. As with the cities of the Boeotian League, the Cretan *poleis* probably enrolled each new year class as soldiers without delay.²⁴⁷ Also possible, though no extant source mentions it explicitly, is that the new δρομεῖς were presented with arms and armor in these ceremonies.²⁴⁸

The δρομεῖς of these Hellenistic treaties, however, were not simply adult male citizens like their fifth-century counterparts at Gortyn. The term was evidently now applied to a defined group within the larger citizen body, as a treaty between Lato and Olous makes clear.²⁴⁹ After enjoining the people of Lato to go to Olous for the Theodaisia and the Olountians to travel to Lato for a festival there, the treaty requires that each city dispatch a θίασος and δρομεῖς.²⁵⁰ Treaties between Knossos and Hierapytna, and between Lyttos and Olous, also contain similar provisions in which δρομεῖς are specifically required to participate along with other specialized groups.²⁵¹ A συμπολιτεία agreement between Hierapytna and Praisos gave their citizens full rights to participate in the dancing and athletic contests in both cities.²⁵² Who precisely the δρομεῖς were is nowhere indicated, but they would almost certainly have been the cities' νέοι, young men between twenty and thirty years of age who were expected to maintain their physical conditioning through regular

²⁴⁶ Cf. Chaniotis (1996) 68.

²⁴⁷ E.g. *IG* VII 2715-2721 (Akraiphiai); *IG* VII 3292-3794 (Chaironeia); *IG* VII 1748-1750 (Thespiiai).

²⁴⁸ Leitao (1995) 133.

²⁴⁹ I owe this and the following points to a suggestion by Charalambos Kritsas.

²⁵⁰ Chaniotis (1996) no. 61A, ll. 42-45: [ἐρπόντων] δὲ καὶ [ἐς τὰ]ς ἐ[ορτ]ὰς οἱ μὲν Λάτιοι ἔς τε τὰ Θεοδαΐσια κῆς] | τὰ Βριτομάρπεια, ὡσαύτων] δὲ κοὶ Βολόν[τιοι ἐς Λ]ατῶν ἔς τε τὰ Θεοδαΐσια κ[ῆς] τὰ [- - -] | καὶ θίασον ἀγόν[των ἐκότεροι κα] | ἰ δρομέας ἀπ[οστελλ]όντων καὶ θυόντων [καὶ τᾶλλα κατὰ τὸ νομ]ιζόμενον. For the restoration ἐκότεροι in line 44, which replaces Chaniotis' χορὸς δὲ, see Tzifopoulos (1998) 156 n. 56.

²⁵¹ Chaniotis (1996) no. 50, ll. 8-9 (Hierapytna and Knossos); no. 60, ll. 10-14 (Lyttos and Olous).

²⁵² Chaniotis (1996) no. 5, ll. 68-78: χορὸς δὲ καὶ δρόμος συνκοινὸς ἤμεν ἐκ<α>τέροις το[ῖς] τε Ἱεραπυλτνίοις ἐμ Πιραισῶι καὶ τλοῖς Πραισιό[ις] ἐν Ἱερα[πύτ]ναι. On the meaning of δρόμος, see Tzifopoulos (1998) 157.

attendance at the gymnasium.²⁵³ Since they effectively constituted the civic military reserve, their annual participation in contests of their partner city would vividly have symbolized the renewal of peaceful relations each year.

Upon becoming a citizen at the end of his term in the ἀγέλαι, every male was enrolled in one of the ἑταιρείαι, the main constituent units of many Cretan city-states, each ἑταιρεία forming a single common mess (ἀνδρεῖον).²⁵⁴ What little we know of the structure of the ἑταιρείαι to which all citizens belonged, reveals nothing to show they were organized according to age. Some internal distinctions did exist, however. Younger boys, who would not yet have formally been members, served the men, sat beside their fathers, received one-half of the portion of meat distributed to the regular members, and drank wine from a communal bowl. Older boys, who had entered the ἀγέλαι, were fed at public expense, but not in the common mess. Among full members, the only difference notable in the surviving sources is the privilege accorded the older ones (πρεσβύτεροι) to drink more wine than the allotted amount should they so wish.

Like their Spartan counterparts, the ἑταιρείαι may have formed the basis of Cretan armies. Modern scholars have pointed to the emphasis on military training in descriptions of the Cretan system and posited a close connection between the two.²⁵⁵ But we simply have too little evidence for the organization of Cretan civic armies at any period to draw any conclusions as to the military function of the ἑταιρείαι. Indeed, there is some indication that armies were still organized along tribal lines.²⁵⁶

Classical Crete does show some signs of a very simple age-grade structure articulated around entry into the community of adult males and consisting of three grades, ἀπάγελος, ἀγέλαος, δρομεύς, with the first two sometimes subsumed under the broader category of ἀπόδρομος. The annual formation of ἀγέλαι had the effect of producing age classes, but there is no hint that any Cretan city was organized along age lines beyond the distinction between maturity and immaturity inherent in the terms ἀπόδρομος and δρομεύς. If age-class systems did exist on Crete,

²⁵³ The characterization of νέοι by Forbes (1933) 68 as “the aftermath of the ephebate” is no longer tenable. See Kennell (2012).

²⁵⁴ On the ἑταιρείαι, see Ephorus *FGrHist* 70 F149; Dosiades *FGrHist* 458 F2; Pylgion *FGrHist* 467; Lavrencic (1988); Link (1994) 5-29.

²⁵⁵ Plato, *Laws* 1.625d 7-626b 4. See Lavrencic (1988) 148-149.

²⁵⁶ Link (1994) 103.

the evidence suggests they were closest to Bernardi's initiation/transition model, where the age classes have validity only for shaping members' lives immediately following initiation into the age-grade system.²⁵⁷ If so, this would account for the transformation of *δρομεύς* in the Hellenistic period into the designation for young men in their twenties. On the other hand, the only evidence implying annual age classes is Hesychius' reference to Cretan *δεκάδρομοι* and the Gortyn Law Code's requirement for a witness to be *πεντεκαιδεκάδρομος* or older; they, however, function merely as alternative ways of stating age. There is no suggestion at all that age classes engaged in any communal activities after their time in the *ἀγέλαι*.

Furthermore, as in Laconia, not even the entire male population of Cretan cities appears to have been included in the system leading to membership of a *ἐταιρεία*. Apart from males of dependent status, individually typified as *δόλος* or *φοικεύς*, who as unfree laborers were naturally excluded, there was also the *ἀπέταιρος*, whose very name indicates that he did not belong to a *ἐταιρεία*.²⁵⁸ In the catalogue of fines payable for various sex crimes at Gortyn, the penalties for violating a member of an *ἀπέταιρος*' family were one-tenth those for offending against full-status men or women, but many times more than those against *δόλοι*/*φοικεῖς*.²⁵⁹ *Ἀπέταιροι* have thus been considered free, but of significantly lower social and juridical status than full citizens with access to the common mess. In this respect, they may justifiably be compared to the free but non-Spartiate population of Sparta and Laconia.²⁶⁰ Consequently, it is only by excluding these people from consideration that the scanty and inconsistent evidence can be used to support the existence of age-class societies on Crete, even in an attenuated form.

Approached with a critical eye, the evidence is much less suggestive of age-class societies in Greece than initially supposed. Tellingly, the city with the most material available for examination, Athens, is the one least likely to have been an age-class society. Sparta may have graded its citizens by age and age class in its civic training, but direct evidence for a fully articulated age-class system is lacking, and there is no indication that cohorts of age mates acted collectively after becoming adults.

²⁵⁷ Bernardi (1985) 62.

²⁵⁸ On *δόλοι* and *φοικεῖς*, see Link (2001). On *ἀπέταιρος*, see Bile (1988) 274.

²⁵⁹ Col. II, ll. 5, 25, 41 (Koerner [1993] no. 164); Willetts (1967) 10.

²⁶⁰ Willetts (1967) 12-13.

Although age-class societies often limit the warrior function to the first adult grade before individuals marry and enter the next grade, usually associated with raising a family and consolidating wealth, Sparta's army shows no such restriction. Indeed, its main organizational principle, by the later fifth century at least, was the *συσσίτιον*, which included members of widely varying age. Earlier, tribal or territorial factors predominated.²⁶¹ Age classes may have been part of certain Cretan cities' citizen training systems, but no direct evidence for this exists, although there is explicit evidence for official, juridically recognized age grades that broadly distinguished between child and adult. But again we have no evidence for groups of age mates acting together or moving collectively from one grade to another and, as at Sparta, the *ἐταιρείαι*, collectivities comprising individuals of widely varying age, were the most important social and political units.

Of the three case studies here, age-class systems are most likely to have existed in some (if not all) Cretan cities, but even there we fall far short of having conclusive proof. To put it plainly, that any ancient Greek city, even on Crete, was ever an age-class society is unlikely, and even the idea of recognizable, highly articulated Greek age-grade systems remains largely conjectural.

What now? How can we account for the obvious ubiquity of expressions of age and the fact that access to political office and participation in institutions such as marriage and the military among many others was according to age, either through legal provisions or social convention? I suggest widening our focus. The tradition of looking to African age-class systems has narrowed the perspective of historians searching for parallels to explain phenomena observable in ancient Greece. Age, together with sex, is the most basic means of distinguishing among individuals in any society. Nowadays our ages are easily calculable from the precise date of our birth, but before the rise of the modern nation-state and compulsory registration of births with government agencies, 'age' would have depended far more on visible signs of physical development and participation in ceremonies marking progress through the life course. For instance, in medieval France a knight was considered a young man during the years between the occasion of his dubbing, usually between the ages of sixteen and twenty, and his marriage. As a result, the period

²⁶¹ On the organization of the Spartan army in the Archaic and Classical periods, see Kennell (2010) 147-151.

of youth, which was marked by adventure and carousal with a group of intimates gathered around a knight, could last as long as a quarter of a century until he married.²⁶² This process is equivalent to passage through an age grade but, without membership in an age class, each knight progressed individually on to the next phase.

On the other hand, age classes can exist in the absence of formal age grades. Some rural communities in southern France and northern Italy group young people (now including females) into annual classes that form when they turn twenty.²⁶³ With a function that is largely social, meeting every few years for church services, dinners, and in one instance annual trips, these groups can offer friendship and support to their members along with certain ceremonial obligations, for example attendance at an agemate's wedding or funeral.²⁶⁴ Their names — *classards/ conscrits, coscrits, konskritak* — attest to close links with the military, and especially with conscription.²⁶⁵ After the introduction of military service for twenty-year-old males in 1798, coincidentally only six years after the introduction of civil registration of births, and the establishment of annual conscription in 1804, young men in nineteenth-century France, like their modern counterparts in Turkey, exuberantly celebrated the *tirage au sort* as a time of liberation from the family and a crossing of the threshold to manhood.²⁶⁶ Each year's *conscrits* formed a *classe* that cut across ties of kinship and geography. With the abolition of the *tirage* in the early twentieth century these traditions faded away except in regions where the unity of age functioned as a check on the social power of the family.²⁶⁷ In the Italian Alps, where a similar but not identical tradition exists, a ceremony celebrating courtship and youth called 'disk throwing' (*cidulas*) takes place, led by young men who have passed their military medical examination during the past year. The effect of this is described by Patrick Heady:

Thus, by assigning the leadership of the *cidulas* ceremony to new *coscrits*, the villagers have neatly resolved the contradiction between the symbolism of village kinship and that of mutual courtship. The immediate effect of identification with the military is to emphasize the

²⁶² Duby (1964) 836. I thank John Ma for this reference.

²⁶³ Bouffart (2003); Ott (1981) 78 and n. 125; Heady (2003).

²⁶⁴ Bouffart (2003) 255; Ott (1981) 78 and n. 125.

²⁶⁵ Bouffart (2003) 253; Heady (2003) 87; Ott (1981) 78.

²⁶⁶ Heywood (2007) 84-85; Bozon (1979).

²⁶⁷ Bouffart (2003) 260-261.

newly authenticated separation of the young men from their community of origin, as well as the shared power and physical fitness which they bring to the roles of potential lovers and challengers of filial piety. However, when the wider symbolism of military service and conscription is taken into account, it can be seen that this rebellious assertion is firmly set in a context which involves ultimate subordination to authority in general — including that of the Church — and acceptance of one's place as son, husband, and father in the cycle of adult family life.²⁶⁸

The parallels with the Greek situation are not exact — no Greek city attempted to call up one hundred percent of its manpower every year, for example — but certain elements of such phenomena can illuminate Greek practice, especially as they occur within communities that can hardly be termed age-class societies. Here, the aspect of control by the villagers over the conscripts' activities finds an echo in similar concerns in Greek cities over the wildness of youth.²⁶⁹

I have intended this article to be more than simply an exercise in *nostalgie d'un formalisme suranné*.²⁷⁰ Since we have so little to work with, only by subjecting our material to rigorous examination and testing our assumptions against a well-studied paradigm from another discipline — in this case, the anthropological concept of the age-class society — can we hope to approach an accurate understanding of Greek society. Once we know what the evidence is actually telling us, we can look further afield for analogies that might help us to understand a particular set of Greek practices. There is no single cipher, however, that can reliably decode them for us. Better to use a variety of methods to highlight various elements, and from the reflections cast off by the multi-faceted, scattered shards of our evidence truly illuminate life in ancient Greece.

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²⁶⁸ Heady (2003) 87-88.

²⁶⁹ E.g. Thuc. 6.12.2-13.1; Eurip., *Suppl.* 232-237. A sign of the apprehension felt about the young appears in Plato's *Laws*, where the Athenian expresses approval of the ordinance forbidding Cretan youth from expressing any opinion about their laws except for unanimous approval for the constitution as a whole (Plato, *Laws* 634d 4-635e 2).

²⁷⁰ Peatrik (2003) 8.

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EUCRATE, LISICLE E AGNONE

Abstract: The Aristotelian *Athenian Constitution* suggests that the decline of Athens began either during or after the government of Pericles, due to the increasing importance of leaders who were not aristocratic landowners. The so-called comic *diadochè* of demagogues in the *Knights* of Aristophanes and some verses of the *Plutoi* of Cratinus help us in reconstructing the careers of Eucrates, Lisicles and Hagnon, who made their first steps in the political arena during the hegemony of Pericles, thanks to previous economic successes. They were all involved in trade and industry, so their wealth grew with the development of the empire during the first decades of the second half of the fifth century. After the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war and the spread of the plague which killed Pericles and other well-born scions, they rose to the leadership of the demos. The two steps of their political careers — their economic and political rise, then their achieved leadership — make us understand the relationships between economy and politics in classical Athens and why Aristotle split in two times the beginning of the fall of the city.

Nella *Costituzione degli Ateniesi* aristotelica convivono due diverse interpretazioni — derivate probabilmente da due diverse tradizioni — circa il momento in cui andava collocato l'inizio della corruzione politica e sociale che aveva causato la decadenza di Atene¹. Secondo la prima interpretazione l'errore alla base di tale processo era stata la scelta compiuta da Pericle di orientare maggiormente la città verso il mare e di introdurre le indennità per gli eliaisti (27.1-4; cfr. 41.2)². Nella seconda interpretazione la degenerazione cittadina era avvenuta solo dopo la morte dell'alceonide ed era dovuta alla scelta del popolo, improvvisa ed inaspettata, di non scegliere più i suoi capi tra gli *epieikeis*, l'*élite*

¹ Rhodes (1981) 284, mette in evidenza che la ricostruzione aristotelica del V sec. risente in maniera evidente dell'uso di fonti di diverso orientamento politico. Sull'argomento, vd. anche Ambaglio (1994) 259-269.

² Μάλιστα προύτρεψεν (*scil.* Pericle) τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ τὴν ναυτικὴν δύναμιν, ἐξ ἧς συνέβη θαρρήσαντας τοὺς πολλοὺς ἅπασαν τὴν πολιτείαν μᾶλλον ἄγειν εἰς αὐτοὺς [...] κατεσκεύασε μισθοφορὰν τοῖς δικασταῖς· ἀφ' ὧν αἰτιῶνται τινες χεῖρῳ γενέσθαι “soprattutto indirizzò la città verso il potere navale, perciò avvenne che la massa, fattasi intraprendente, accentrasse su di sé tutta la vita politica [...] istituì l'indennità per i giudici, a causa della quale, secondo alcuni, le cose peggiorarono”. Questa interpretazione era già presente in un passo di Plat., *Gorg.* 515e, in cui si afferma che Pericle aveva corrotto il demo. Da notare che Platone utilizza il medesimo verbo, διαφθεῖρω, con cui Aristotele descrive l'azione di Cleone in *Ath. Resp.* 28.3.

sociale di Atene (28.1)³. Per poter meglio valutare queste due visioni e cercare di stabilire se una sia da preferire all'altra, è opportuno ricostruire con precisione i modi e i tempi della transizione politica e sociale successiva alla morte di Pericle.

A tal fine il testo aristotelico risulta poco utile, a causa dell'esigenza di semplificazione caratteristica della *diadochè*, la veste formale ripresa nella parte storica della *Costituzione degli Ateniesi*: la sequenza di politici, giustapposti gli uni agli altri senza soluzione di continuità e senza tenere conto di eventuali periodi di vacanza, appare riduttiva proprio dalla successione a Pericle, alla cui morte subentra come capo del popolo Cleone (28.2-4). Tra i due politici c'era stato un aspro conflitto sulla conduzione della guerra del Peloponneso nel 430, pochi mesi prima che il grande stratego morisse, come testimoniano le *Moire* di Ermippo, commedia in cui viene deriso Pericle come imbecille, pacifista e parolaio a confronto con il focoso e aggressivo Cleone⁴. I versi del comico riecheggiano nelle testimonianze di Sozione, autore nel II sec. di una successione di filosofi, che individuava nell'emergente uomo politico l'accusa-

³ "Εως μὲν οὖν Περικλῆς προειστῆκει τοῦ δήμου βελτίω τὰ κατὰ τὴν πολιτείαν ἦν, τελευτήσαντος δὲ Περικλέους πολὺ χειρῶ. Πρῶτον γὰρ τότε προστάτην ἔλαβεν ὁ δῆμος οὐκ εὐδοκιμοῦντα παρὰ τοῖς ἐπεικέσιν· ἐν δὲ τοῖς πρότερον χρόνοις αἰεὶ διετέλουν οἱ ἐπεικεῖς δημαγωγοῦντες "finché Pericle guidò il popolo, le cose concernenti l'amministrazione dello stato erano migliori, dopo la sua morte furono molto peggiori. Infatti allora per la prima volta il popolo scelse un capo che non godeva di stima presso i nobili; nei tempi passati i capi popolari provenivano sempre dagli aristocratici". L'idea che la decadenza di Atene fosse iniziata dopo la morte di Pericle risale a Thuc. 2.65.5-13, che lo contrappone ai suoi successori, sui quali ricade la responsabilità della sconfitta nella guerra del Peloponneso. Similmente Isocrate, deluso dagli inetti demagoghi suoi contemporanei, paragonati ad Iperbolo e Cleofonte (*De pace* 75), elogia la capacità di Pericle di far crescere la polis (*De pace* 126-128; *Antid.* 234-236). Aristotele sottolinea la frattura avvenuta con la morte dell'alcmeonide con le espressioni "Εως μὲν [...] τελευτήσαντος δὲ εἰς Πρῶτον γὰρ τότε [...] ἐν δὲ τοῖς πρότερον χρόνοις, tanto da far dire a Rhodes (1981) 345, che "the disappearance of the old aristocracy from such positions is strikingly abrupt". Il termine *epeikeis* compare tre volte nel testo della *Costituzione degli Ateniesi* con diverso significato. In 26.1, all'inizio del paragrafo ha valore sociale come in 28.1, indicando le classi sociali più elevate in contrapposizione con le inferiori (vd. Rhodes [1981] 324, 344); subito dopo ha valore morale, poiché caratterizza i caduti in battaglia sia del popolo che dei nobili.

⁴ F47 K-A = Plut., *Per.* 33.8, βασιλεῦ Σατύρων, τί ποτ' οὐκ ἐθέλεις/ δόρυ βαστάζειν, ἀλλὰ λόγους μὲν/ περὶ τοῦ πολέμου δεινούς παρέχει./ ψυχὴ δὲ Τέλης ὑπεστί./ κάγχειριδίου δ' ἀκόνη σκληρᾷ/ παραθηγομένης βρύχεις κοπίδος./ δηχθεὶς αἰθῶνι Κλέωνι. "re dei satiri, perché non vuoi/ palleggiare la lancia, ma fai discorsi terribili sulla guerra,/ pur avendo l'animo di un Telete?/ e digrigni i denti quando sulla dura cote/ viene affilato un piccolo coltello,/ morso dal focoso Cleone".

tore di Anassagora, il filosofo naturalista amico di Pericle⁵, e di Idomeneo di Lampsaco, filosofo e storico attivo tra IV e III sec., che nella sua *diadochè* di demagoghi sosteneva essere stato Cleone a muovere l'accusa che nel 430 portò alla destituzione dell'alcmeonide dalla strategia⁶, ricoperta ininterrottamente dal 443. È difficile pensare che immediatamente dopo averlo così fortemente attaccato, egli sia potuto diventare suo erede, e meno ancora accreditarsi come tale⁷. Inoltre Tucidide presenta per la prima volta Cleone nel dibattito sulla sorte dei Mitilenesi ribelli svoltosi nella primavera del 427, quindi ben due anni dopo la morte di Pericle⁸, e, pur definendolo il politico più ascoltato dal demo, ricorda che uscì sconfitto dall'assemblea, dal che si deduce che la sua autorità non era ancora assoluta⁹. Nello stesso anno Cleone fu probabilmente *buleuta* in rappresentanza della sua tribù¹⁰, ma questo incarico veniva assegnato per sorteggio e, nonostante offrisse la possibilità di mettersi in luce nella gestione politica della città, non era un ruolo di primo piano tale da potersi considerare l'inizio di una carriera di successo. Se, dunque, Cleone raggiunse l'*akmè* politica dopo il 427, tra questa data e la morte di Pericle intercorrono due anni in cui Aristotele non chiarisce chi avesse la guida del demo.

Colmano questo vuoto alcuni versi dei *Cavalieri* di Aristofane. All'inizio della commedia, rappresentata alle Lenee del 424, i due servi di Demo approfittando dell'assenza di Paflagone, *alter ego* comico di Cleone e servo preferito dal padrone, rubano alcuni oracoli che il loro rivale teneva gelosamente custoditi¹¹. Il motivo del furto viene presto svelato: in essi è contenuta una successione di mercanti, tra cui rientra Paflagone-Cleone, che si conclude con la profezia di una sua sconfitta da

⁵ F3 Wehrli² = Diog. L. II 2.

⁶ *FGrHist* 338 F9 = Plut., *Per.* 35.5.

⁷ Occorre ricordare che non esisteva un ruolo formale di *prostates* del popolo e le *diadochai* si limitavano a registrare la successione temporale di un capo dopo l'altro, per cui non si può escludere a priori che alla morte di Pericle Cleone sia divenuto suo erede. Questa possibilità, tuttavia, risulta debole tenendo conto che quest'ultimo avrebbe dovuto cercare il sostegno dei medesimi settori che aveva criticato fino a pochi mesi prima, oltre che delle fonti secondo cui egli si affermò alla guida del demo solo alcuni anni dopo.

⁸ Thuc. 3.36.6. Sul complesso svolgimento dell'assemblea, che venne convocata all'indomani della precedente, vd. Cagnazzi (1984) 23-30.

⁹ Thuc. 3.49.1.

¹⁰ Negli *Acarnesi* (377-384), rappresentati alle Lenee del 425, Aristofane riferisce di un processo, svoltosi l'anno precedente nel Consiglio, in cui fu accusato da Cleone, che era dunque *buleuta* nel 427/6 (vd. Rhodes [1972] 4).

¹¹ Aristoph., *Eq.* 109-117.

parte di un salsicciaio, il quale farà la sua comparsa in scena poco dopo¹². Il primo dei mercanti nella successione è un venditore di corde (ὥς πρῶτα μὲν στυππειοπώλης γίγνεται), seguito da un mercante di pecore (μετὰ τοῦτον αὖθις προβατοπώλης δεύτερος). È evidente che i due commercianti, che hanno preceduto Paflagone nel servire Demo, sono due politici che hanno ricoperto il ruolo di *prostates* del popolo prima di Cleone.

Il ‘mercante di corde’, il primo dei servi nominati nei *Cavalieri*, è un certo Eucrate, come è possibile ricavare da un frammento aristofaneo¹³, che ricorda i vari soprannomi con cui veniva irriso: mercante di corde, maiale selvatico, venditore di farina¹⁴. Al soprannome ‘venditore di farina’ rimanda una battuta contro di lui presente ancora una volta nei *Cavalieri*, quando nella parodo il coro, composto da giovani cavalieri, entra aggredendo Paflagone-Cleone e il corifeo invita a non lasciarlo scappare come Eucrate che fuggiva dritto nella farina (ἄσπερ Εὐκράτης ἔφευγεν εὐθὺ τῶν κυρηβίων)¹⁵. Il quadro che emerge dalla commedia è quello di un politico che, dopo la morte di Pericle, conobbe il suo momento di maggiore fortuna e che ricavava la sua ricchezza da due distinte attività di tipo commerciale. L’appellativo ‘maiale selvatico’ compare in un frammento, sempre di Aristofane, proveniente dalla commedia *Geras*, la cui datazione è incerta, ma che si può collocare nella prima produzione del comico¹⁶. Il frammento è conservato nei lessici di Fozio ed Esichio, alla voce μελιτέα κάπρον¹⁷, maiale del demo di Mèlita, dove si afferma che questa espressione identificava Eucrate e faceva il paio con il soprannome di ‘orso’: le due definizioni erano entrambe allusive della folta peluria del politico, oppure della presenza di un allevamento di maiali vicino al mulino da lui posseduto. Non è possibile decidere quale delle due ipotesi sia da preferire, ma il dato

¹² Aristoph., *Eq.* 128-149.

¹³ Aristoph. F716 K-A = *Schol. vet. et Tr. in Aristoph.* Eq. 254a, 62 Mervyn-Jones, Wilson.

¹⁴ Tale identificazione è confermata da *Schol. vet. et Tr. in Aristoph.* Eq. 129a-b, 40 Mervyn-Jones, Wilson.

¹⁵ Aristoph., *Eq.* 254. Da questo verso si può ipotizzare anche quale fu l’esito della sua vicenda politica, poiché potrebbe essere un riferimento al suo essersi rifugiato negli affari privati, il suo mulino, in seguito ad una sconfitta. L’imperfetto ἔφευγεν sembrerebbe alludere al fatto che egli aveva subito prima del 424, anno di rappresentazione della commedia, ripetuti insuccessi politici.

¹⁶ *PCG* III 2 89.

¹⁷ Aristoph. F149 K-A = Phot. *s.v.* = Hesych. *s.v.*

interessante che offre questo frammento è che Eucrate proveniva dal demo di Mèlita.

Eucrate di Mèlita può essere identificato con l'omonimo stratego menzionato in un'iscrizione che registra il pagamento delle provvigioni ai soldati inviati ad assediare Potidea¹⁸, che si era ribellata nell'estate del 432 alla richiesta di abbattimento delle mura avanzata da Atene in seguito al rifiuto di non accogliere più i magistrati inviati dalla madre-patria Corinto¹⁹. Tale identificazione è stata respinta con diverse argomentazioni. La prima è la provenienza di Eucrate dal demo di Mèlita che apparteneva alla tribù Cecropide, già rappresentata quell'anno da Protea del demo di Aissone²⁰. Non sarebbe, però, l'unico caso, né in quell'anno, né in quelli immediatamente precedenti e successivi, di tale fenomeno, dato che da tempo gli strateghi non erano eletti più in base alla tribù di provenienza²¹. Un'altra argomentazione contraria si basa sui versi di Aristofane secondo cui Eucrate svolse un ruolo importante solo in seguito alla morte di Pericle²², e sarebbe perciò difficile riconoscerlo

¹⁸ IG I³ 365 = IG I² 296. Lewis integra i righi 4-5 nel modo seguente: στρατηγοῖς π]/[λέουσιν ἐς Μα]κεδονίαν Εὐκράτ[ει. Il termine στρατηγοῖς era stato integrato già da Kirchoff in IG I supp. 179A ed è stato sempre accolto dagli studiosi.

¹⁹ Thuc. 1.56-58.2.

²⁰ Il primo a sollevare il problema della provenienza di Eucrate e Protea dalla medesima tribù è stato Beloch (1884) 262, che però, scrivendo prima della scoperta del papiro contenente la *Costituzione degli Ateniesi* e non conoscendo, dunque, la possibilità dell'elezione *ex apanton* degli strateghi, ha proposto di superare il problema interpretando il soprannome "maiale di Mèlita" come un riferimento al luogo in cui il politico possedeva una casa, e non al suo demo di provenienza. Anche Meyer (1915) IV 329, non ritiene fosse possibile in questa fase l'elezione di più strateghi dalla stessa tribù e propone di identificare l'Eucrate stratego con l'omonimo padre di Diodoto, oratore contro Cleone nell'assemblea sulla sorte dei Mitilenesi ribelli (Thuc. 3.41). L'identificazione non è sostenibile da un punto di vista cronologico: se si ipotizza che il figlio abbia avuto almeno 30 anni al momento dell'assemblea nel 427 e che il padre ne abbia avuti altrettanti al momento della nascita del figlio, sembra improbabile (anche se non impossibile) che un uomo nato nei primi anni '80 possa essere stato eletto stratego ad un'età prossima ai 60 anni nel 432. Inoltre a questo Eucrate sembra possano riferirsi i tre cocci di ostracismo rinvenuti nell'agorà, due dei quali recanti il patronimico Εὐδράμωvος, databili intorno alla metà del secolo (Vanderpool (1949) 398. Cfr. Brenne (2002) 53), cosa che collocherebbe una sua eventuale attività politica molto prima del 432. Più recentemente un'altra obiezione all'identificazione tra i due Eucrate è stata mossa da Thompson (1974) 148. Nel suo lavoro, in cui mette in guardia dalle identificazioni basate sul solo nome, egli ricorda che il fratello di Nicia si chiamava Eucrate e propone che lo stratego del 432 provenisse da questa famiglia.

²¹ Arist., *Ath. Resp.* 61.1. Vd. Fornara (1971) 76-77; Rhodes (1981) 677-678; Develin (1989) 3.

²² Aristoph., *Eq.* 129, non fa esplicito riferimento a Pericle, tuttavia ὡς πρῶτα all'inizio della successione di politici è stato generalmente interpretato come un riferi-

come stratego già tre anni prima, nel 432/1. Si può però osservare che egli è il primo degli eredi politici di Pericle nei *Cavalieri*, per cui non sembra credibile che abbia potuto raggiungere tale posizione senza aver svolto alcun ruolo prima della morte dell'alcmeonide²³, mentre appare assolutamente coerente che ad assumerne l'eredità, seppure senza avere le capacità necessarie, come dimostra la sua breve esperienza da capo politico, sia stato qualcuno già noto ad Atene. Inoltre egli è seguito da Lisicle, certamente attivo — come vedremo — prima della morte di Pericle, e da Cleone²⁴, uno degli accusatori nei processi intentati contro Anassagora e Pericle a cavallo dello scoppio della guerra del Peloponneso²⁵, oltre che sostenitore, sin dai primi anni di guerra, della necessità di una conduzione più aggressiva del conflitto contro Sparta in opposizione alla strategia difensiva periclea²⁶. Si può concludere che questi politici erano attivi prima della morte di Pericle e che Aristofane intendeva verosimilmente sottolineare che divennero leader riconosciuti dopo la sua morte, non che avessero iniziato a fare politica solo allora e che fino a quel momento non avessero ricoperto incarichi importanti o partecipato alla vita politica della città.

Se è corretta l'ipotesi di collocare Eucrate tra gli strateghi attivi nei mesi che precedono lo scoppio del conflitto, quando Pericle gode di un prestigio ancora non incrinato dagli avvenimenti degli anni immediatamente successivi, in uno scenario in cui si muovono personalità di primo piano legate all'alcmeonide, primo fra tutti Callia, autore dei decreti economici più importanti in quegli anni²⁷, si può pensare che anch'egli appartenesse al gruppo politico democratico vicino a Pericle. Il tentativo

mento alla fase politica postpericlea (vd. Neil (1901) 23-24). L'ipotesi secondo la quale Eucrate non avrebbe ricoperto alcun ruolo politico-militare nel 432, vivo Pericle, è stata sostenuta da H. Swoboda, *RE* VI.1, 1056-1058, adducendo come motivazione il fatto che Aristofane lo descrive come politico postpericleo. Di fronte alle conclusioni espresse dallo studioso tedesco, Gomme (1941) 61 n. 1, esclamava "What an argument from an historian!".

²³ Cfr. West (1924) 132.

²⁴ Aristoph., *Eq.* 134-137.

²⁵ Idom. *FGrHist* 338 F9 = Plut., *Per.* 35.3-5; Diog. L. 2.12. Sull'importanza dei processi nella vicenda politica di Cleone, vd. Saldutti (2009) 206-208.

²⁶ Hermipp. F47 K-A = Plut., *Per.* 33.8.

²⁷ Thuc. 1.61.1; 63.3, testimonia l'invio di Callia a Potidea come stratego, ma non chiarisce se egli ricoprì tale incarico nel 433/2 o nel 432/1. Kolbe (1899) 384-385, accoglie il 432/1 e ipotizza che il nome di Callia fosse presente nella parte mutila di *IG* I³ 365, dopo il nome di Eucrate. Tale ipotesi è stata accolta da Fornara (1971) 52-53; Develin (1989) 101. *Contra* Gomme (1941) 59-67, ritiene che Callia fosse stato inviato nel 433/2 e che quindi non sarebbe nominato nell'iscrizione. Dello stesso parere Rosivach (1985)

di subentrargli alla morte risultò, però, di corto respiro, dato che, come si legge in Aristofane, fu scalzato nella guida del popolo da Lisicle, con cui va identificato il ‘mercante di pecore’, il secondo personaggio nella successione di commercianti dei *Cavalieri*²⁸.

Sulla vicenda politica di Lisicle prima della morte di Pericle siamo informati da un’epigrafe frammentaria, risalente probabilmente al 432, che riporta il suo nome come proponente di un decreto relativo alla regolamentazione delle offerte che i possessori di navi e i mercanti ormeggiati al Falero devolvevano ad un tempio che si trovava nei pressi del porto²⁹. È interessante che tale regolamentazione riguardi un culto legato al commercio, attività da cui proveniva la ricchezza di Lisicle³⁰.

La fonte principale sulla sua vicenda personale è Eschine Socratico, filosofo attivo tra la fine del V e gli inizi del IV sec., autore di un dialogo dal titolo *Aspasia*³¹: Lisicle sposò la milesia rimasta vedova dopo la morte di Pericle. Secondo Eschine fu lei ad insegnargli i segreti della retorica che lo fecero divenire un abilissimo oratore (ῥήτορα δεινότατον) e, grazie a ciò, un politico di primo piano tra gli Ateniesi

59-60. Sulla figura di Callia e i suoi legami con Pericle, vd. Cataldi (1990) 31 e n. 9, che riprende Busolt (1891) 86-92, che, seppur datato, rimane utile.

²⁸ *Schol. vet. et Tr. in Aristoph. Eq.* 132a-c, 41 Mervyn-Jones, Wilson, oscilla nell’identificare il venditore di pecore tra Callia e Lisicle, mentre *Schol. vet. et Tr. in Aristoph. Eq.* 765b-c, 182 Mervyn-Jones, Wilson; Hesych. e Phot. s.vv. προβατοκά-πιλος, sono concordi nell’attribuire tale soprannome al solo Lisicle.

²⁹ *IG I³ 130 = IG I² 128*. L’iscrizione si compone di due stele trovate in luoghi diversi, ricomposte, seppur solo virtualmente, data la scomparsa di una di esse, da Lewis (1960) 190-194. Il decreto stabilisce che un tempio privato divenga pubblico e sia gestito dai poleti, cui viene affidato il compito di abbellirlo. Quale fosse la divinità venerata è tema discusso. Prima che il testo fosse ricomposto Kirchoff (*IG I 68*) congetturò che il tempio fosse dedicato a Zeus Sotér, ipotesi accolta in maniera esitante da Schlaifer (1940) 233-234 e n. 2; e da Mattingly (1990) 113, che abbassa la data dell’iscrizione al 429/8. Più convincente appare la ricostruzione di Lewis, che legge alla linea 19 τὸ ἱερὸν τὸς Δελί[ος], ritenendo che il tempio fosse dedicato ad Apollo Delio e che il decreto sia da collegare ad un tentativo di ingraziarsi il dio dopo il terremoto che colpì Delo nel 432 (Thuc. 2.8.3), e che fu ritenuto un cattivo presagio per l’imminente guerra. Tuplin (2005) 20-21, dopo aver considerato entrambe le proposte, ritiene che non ci siano elementi decisivi a favore di nessuna delle due.

³⁰ Sia Apollo Delio che Zeus Sotér erano divinità legate ai traffici commerciali e all’artigianato (per Apollo Delio, vd. Parker (1996) 154; per Zeus Sotér, Mattingly (1990) 113).

³¹ Aeschin. Socr. VI A F66 Giannantoni; il lungo frammento è composto da Plut., *Per.* 24; *Schol. in Plat. Menex.* 235e8, 270 Cufalo; Harpocrat. s.v. Ἀσπασία. Il contenuto di questo frammento è confermato dal F21 K-A del comico Callia, contemporaneo di Lisicle. Sull’attendibilità di Eschine come fonte storica della vicenda di Lisicle, vd. Ehlers (1966) 80, 94 n. 212.

(Ἀθηναίων [...] πρῶτον)³², cosa che dovette sicuramente aiutarlo nel rivendicare l'eredità politica di Pericle³³. Gli ultimi mesi della carriera politica di Lisicle sono agevolmente ricostruibili grazie alla testimonianza di Tucidide. Nel 428 Mitilene si era ribellata ad Atene che, in seguito alle spese sostenute per il lungo assedio di Potidea, si trovava in difficoltà finanziarie. Si decise di colmare il disavanzo con un contributo straordinario degli Ateniesi, che pagarono complessivamente 200 talenti, e degli alleati, cui in inverno furono inviate delle navi per riscuotere un contributo di entità imprecisata e aggiuntivo rispetto a quello che annualmente dovevano versare. A capo di questa spedizione fu posto Lisicle, che comandava altri quattro strateghi (Λυσικλέα πέμπτον αὐτὸν στρατηγόν)³⁴. Una simile autorità in una missione volta a recuperare il denaro dagli alleati lascia supporre che egli avesse avuto un ruolo già nella decisione di chiedere ai cittadini di Atene e alle città dell'impero uno sforzo volto a sostenere l'imminente assedio della città ribelle³⁵. La missione si concluse tragicamente per Lisicle. Dopo essere sbarcato in Caria ed essere entrato nelle regioni più interne, nei pressi di Sandi fu attaccato dai Cari e dagli Aneiti³⁶ e nello scontro fu ucciso con i suoi uomini³⁷.

³² Aeschin. Socr. VI A F66 Giannantoni = Plut., *Per.* 24.6; Diod. Ath., *FGrHist* 372 F40 = *Schol. in Plat. Menex.* 235e8, 270 Cufalo; *Schol. vet. in Aristoph. Eq.* 132a, 41 Mervyn-Jones, Wilson.

³³ Vd. Ehlers (1966) 74.

³⁴ Thuc. 3.17-19. L'espressione πέμπτον αὐτὸν si ritrova, anche se con un numero diverso di strateghi, in Thuc. 1.57.6; 61.1; 116.1; 2.13.1. Per il suo significato, che indica una superiorità non formale, ma di fatto, vd. Dover (1960) 70-71.

³⁵ Aristoph., *Eq.* 773-776; 923-926; descrive Paflagone-Cleone intento in un caso a mettersi in mostra con Demo in virtù del ruolo svolto nello spillare soldi ai cittadini quando era buleuta, nel 427/6, nell'altro a minacciare il salsicciaio di inserirlo nella lista dei ricchi per il pagamento dell'*eisphorà*. A questi vanno aggiunti i vv. 1065-1066, in cui il salsicciaio lo accusa di chiedere continuamente a Demo navi per la riscossione del *misthos*. Sulla scorta di questi passi Gomme (1956) II 278-279; Hornblower (1991) I 404, hanno ipotizzato che Cleone avesse svolto il ruolo di promotore nella decisione dell'*eisphorà* del 428. Va tuttavia notato che Thuc. 3.19.1, afferma chiaramente che questa fu la prima *eisphorà* (τότε πρῶτον) rispetto ad altre che avranno avuto luogo successivamente e a cui potrebbero riferirsi i versi aristofanei. Bisogna inoltre osservare che Aeschin. Socr. VI A F66 Giannantoni = *Schol. in Plat. Menex.* 235e, 270 Cufalo = Callias F21 K-A; Harpocrat. s.v. Ἀσπασία, affermano che Lisicle ebbe da Aspasia un figlio di nome Ποριστής, che potrebbe essere una malevola allusione alla sua attenzione per le entrate pubbliche (cfr. Aristoph., *Ran.* 1504).

³⁶ Si tratta con ogni probabilità di discendenti degli esuli sami fuggiti ad Anea dopo la presa dell'isola da parte di Pericle nel 439. Vd. Hornblower (1991) I 405.

³⁷ Aristoph., *Eq.* 765, definisce Lisicle βέλτιστος ἀνὴρ assieme alle prostitute Cinna e Salabacco rispetto a Paflagone-Cleone. Al di là del gioco comico, il giudizio su Lisicle 'ottimo uomo' potrebbe derivare proprio dalla sua morte in battaglia.

Il riferimento in Tucidide alla sua autorità ad Atene e la coincidenza cronologica tra la sua morte e l'ingresso di Cleone pochi capitoli dopo costituiscono una conferma della veridicità della successione dei demagoghi aristofanea³⁸.

Un frammento papiraceo dei *Pluti* di Cratino ricorda un'altra personalità dalle caratteristiche simili a quelle di Eucrate e Lisicle: Agnone³⁹. La commedia riprendeva un tema tradizionale della poetica di Cratino, ossia il decadimento della città da un'età, quella di Crono, in cui era governata secondo giustizia, al regno del tiranno Zeus. Il tema in questo caso subiva un cambiamento, poiché giungeva la speranza di una palinogenesi della città dopo la morte dell'Olimpio, sotto le cui vesti si cela Pericle⁴⁰. Il coro è composto da titani, chiamati 'pluti', ossia demoni della ricchezza⁴¹, i quali, dopo essere stati a lungo prigionieri, ora che sono nuovamente liberi hanno il compito di giudicare chi si è ingiustamente arricchito⁴² e, in particolare, Agnone.

La sua vicenda politica è legata al periodo di dominio pericleo in maniera più evidente di quanto non lo siano quelle di Eucrate e di Lisicle. La sua prima apparizione sulla scena politica avviene come stratego al fianco dell'alcmeonide nella repressione della ribelle Samo nel 440/39⁴³. Successivamente fu ecista della colonia ateniese di Anfipoli, fondata nel 437/6, in un luogo di importanza strategica per lo sviluppo imperiale di Atene, essendo situata alla foce dello Strimone in ottima posizione per il commercio di minerali e del legno provenienti dalla Tracia⁴⁴. Fu stratego ancora due volte all'inizio della guerra del

³⁸ Aristoph., *Eq.* 164-178, afferma che il futuro del salsicciaio, modellato sulla politica espansionistica di Paflagone-Cleone, sia estendere il suo sguardo sulla Caria e su Cartagine. Il riferimento alla Caria potrebbe alludere all'utilizzo da parte del futuro leader della sconfitta subita da Lisicle nella regione per accreditarsi presso il popolo come comandante più capace rispetto al predecessore.

³⁹ Crat. F171 K-A.

⁴⁰ Il soprannome di Olimpio riferito a Pericle è frequente nella tradizione antica, non solo comica (vd. Cagnazzi (2010) 114-117), per cui l'identificazione Zeus-Pericle e l'ipotesi che la caduta del dio faccia riferimento al processo cui fu sottoposto l'alcmeonide nel 430 (Thuc. 2.65.2) consentono di datare la commedia al 429, ipotesi avanzata la prima volta da Luppe (1967) 68, e successivamente accolta dalla maggior parte degli studiosi. Vd. Banfi (2003) 18-23; Bakola (2010) 213.

⁴¹ Crat. F171 K-A 11-12.

⁴² Crat. F171 K-A 46-48.

⁴³ Thuc. 1.117.2.

⁴⁴ Sulla fondazione di Anfipoli, vd. Thuc. 4.102. Conferma la data di fondazione *Schol. in Aeschin.* De falsa leg. 31, 67b, 64 Dilts. Sull'importanza economica della città per Atene, in particolare per il rifornimento di legname necessario alla costruzione della flotta, vd. Thuc. 4.108.1.

Peloponneso, nel 431/0, quando tentò di prendere la ribelle Potidea, senza però riuscirci⁴⁵, e nel 429/8, anno dell'ultima strategia periclea, quando operò sempre nelle regioni della Grecia settentrionale⁴⁶. Il suo legame con Pericle emerge chiaramente quando, durante la fase dei processi contro l'alcmeonide, intervenne in assemblea in sua difesa contro il decreto proposto da Dracontide con l'obiettivo di destituirlo⁴⁷. Questo decreto era relativo alla procedura di rendicontazione, che Dracontide voleva rendere più severa accentuandone le caratteristiche religiose. Agnone riuscì a smussarne i punti più aggressivi, anche se ciò non fu sufficiente ad impedire che Pericle venisse condannato⁴⁸.

La gioia per la fine della egemonia politica dell'alcmeonide presente nei *Pluti* testimonia che la commedia venne rappresentata nel periodo in cui si celebrava il processo che vide imputato Pericle e che si risolse con la sua condanna e la perdita, seppure per pochi mesi, della carica di stratego. Nel frammento Agnone è a sua volta sotto processo ed è giudicato da due personaggi, probabilmente nei ruoli di accusatore, rappresentato forse dall'intero coro⁴⁹, e di difensore. Contro di lui viene mossa l'accusa di essersi arricchito ingiustamente (οὐτός οὐ πλουτεῖ δικαίως); il difensore la respinge e sostiene che Agnone è uomo di antica ricchezza, poiché possiede da tempo tutti i suoi averi, (ἀρχαιοπλουτός γ' ἐστὶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἔχων/ πάνθ' ὅς ἐστ' αὐτῷ)⁵⁰. Questa risposta doveva provocare il riso del pubblico. Il difensore, infatti, affermando che Agnone è *archaioploutos*, utilizza un termine che designava gli aristocratici che potevano vantare antiche ricchezze⁵¹, ma, quando chiarisce

⁴⁵ Thuc. 2.58; 6.31.2.

⁴⁶ Thuc. 2.95.3, riferisce che Agnone era ἡγεμών, ma appare certo che egli detenesse anche l'incarico ufficiale di stratego. Vd. Pesely (1989) 204 e n. 70.

⁴⁷ Pesely (1989) 198-203, esprime, in maniera poco convincente, dubbi sulla storicità dei processi contro Pericle e, di conseguenza, sul legame tra lui e Agnone.

⁴⁸ Plut., *Per.* 32.4. Per le complesse questioni riguardanti la cronologia dei processi e gli aspetti religiosi che li caratterizzarono, vd. Banfi (1999) 3-85.

⁴⁹ Vd. Bakola (2010) 212-213.

⁵⁰ Vv. 66-76. Seguo il testo e la numerazione dei versi di *Comicorum Graecorum Fragmenta in Papyris reperta (CGFP)* a cura di C. Austin.

⁵¹ Il termine era già in uso ed è attestato in Aeschyl., *Ag.* 1043; Soph., *El.* 1393. Pesely (1989) 191-193, ritiene che il difensore avesse ragione e che ciò testimoniarebbe la discendenza di Agnone da una famiglia di antica ricchezza. Al contrario, dalla ricostruzione della trama della commedia, violentemente antipericlea, si può supporre che il processo si concludesse con la sua condanna per la sua vicinanza all'odiato Pericle e che quindi venisse confermata l'accusa di ingiusto arricchimento. Va infine osservato che la propaganda conservatrice continuò per tutto il periodo della guerra del Peloponneso a contestare le modalità con cui i democratici si erano arricchiti. Esempio a tal proposito

l'origine dei beni dell'uomo politico, sostiene che quanto possiede gli deriva dall'*archè*, giocando sul valore del termine, che poteva indicare l'antichità delle ricchezze, ma poteva anche essere una malevola allusione al fatto che Agnone si sarebbe arricchito grazie alle strategie rivestite e dunque nell'amministrazione dell'impero, appunto l'*archè*⁵². L'accusatore incalza il suo interlocutore sostenendo che Nicia, il padre di Agnone, era un mercante (φορτηγός) al servizio di un certo Pitia, facendo così risalire nel tempo l'origine commerciale di suoi averi.

Che l'accusa mossa ad Agnone di essersi ingiustamente arricchito fosse vera o falsa è di secondaria importanza rispetto al dato di un suo legame con gli ambienti mercantili, cosa che appare in linea con il suo ruolo di fondatore di Anfipoli, città che intratteneva con Atene relazioni di tipo commerciale. La vita politica di Agnone subisce una svolta con ogni probabilità proprio nel lasso di tempo che va dal 430 al 428, ossia nel periodo a ridosso della morte di Pericle. Come abbiamo visto, infatti, egli fu stratego per ben due volte nel triennio 431/28, ma poi non abbiamo sue notizie fino al 421, quando compare nell'elenco dei messi incaricati di stipulare la pace, che prenderà il nome dal conservatore Nicia, e la successiva alleanza con Sparta⁵³. In seguito egli è ricordato come uno dei probuli delegati ad amministrare lo stato dopo la disfatta siciliana e come sostenitore del colpo di stato oligarchico del 411⁵⁴. Il cambio di schieramento che avviene tra la prima fase della sua vita politica, quella che si conclude con il 428, e la seconda, che ha inizio con la pace di Nicia, induce a ritenere che Agnone, che doveva risultare tra i più accreditati seguaci del democratico Pericle, sia stato sconfitto dai suoi avversari, Eucrate e Lisicle, e che, in seguito a tale sconfitta, si

è la tradizione confluita in Aristot., *Ath. Resp.* 6.2-4; Plut., *Sol.* 15.7-8; *Praec. Ger. Reip.* 807d-e, secondo la quale i progenitori di Callia, Alcibiade e Conone si erano guadagnati l'appellativo di *palaioiploutoi* acquistando terreni con denaro prestato e mai più restituito in seguito all'annullamento dei debiti soloniano, di cui erano stati precedentemente informati. A muovere questa accusa fu con ogni probabilità Crizia in un pamphlet circolante tra i suoi compagni politici (Rhodes (1981) 128-129).

⁵² Il gioco verbale è stato colto la prima volta da Goossens (1935) 412, che lo riteneva fondato sui soli concetti di antichità e incarichi pubblici. *Contra* Schwarze (1971) 47 n. 105. A suggerire l'ulteriore possibilità che il termine *archè* possa alludere anche all'impero, cosa a mio avviso preferibile dato il ruolo svolto nella politica estera ateniese da Agnone, è R. Rawls che ne parla con Bakola in una conversazione privata riportata da Bakola (2010) 218 n. 81.

⁵³ Thuc. 5.19.2; 24.1.

⁵⁴ Lys., *Contra Erat.* 65.

sia avvicinato alla fazione avversa, quella conservatrice e oligarchica⁵⁵. Quali siano stati i motivi della sconfitta si può solo ipotizzare. Agnone fu impegnato a più riprese nell'assedio di Potidea, di cui, però, non riuscì a venire a capo. L'insuccesso dovette provocare nei suoi confronti un certo malcontento, aumentato anche dagli enormi costi della missione⁵⁶. Egli, tuttavia, ottenne nel 429/8 un'ultima strategia, nella medesima area, quando fu incaricato di sostenere la spedizione del re dei Traci, Sitalce, contro il re macedone Perdicca, i cui rapporti con Atene erano in quel momento conflittuali⁵⁷. Anche in questa occasione la spedizione si concluse con un fallimento⁵⁸, cosa che dovette confermare la sfiducia nei suoi confronti, probabilmente alimentata anche dai suoi avversari.

La prima parte della vita politica di Agnone ha molti aspetti in comune con quelle di Eucrate e Lisicle. Egli fu attivo politicamente quando Pericle era ancora il principale esponente della fazione democratica e la sua ricchezza, al pari degli altri due uomini politici, non proveniva dal possesso di terre. Non vi era infatti differenza sostanziale da un punto di vista economico-sociale tra il mercante (φορτηγός) Agnone e i venditori (πώλαι) Eucrate e Lisicle, poiché tutti derivavano i loro averi da forme alternative rispetto allo sfruttamento terriero, da cui proviene tradizionalmente la ricchezza ad Atene, e grazie a questi entrarono a far

⁵⁵ Pesely (1989) 204-206, nega che Agnone abbia sostenuto il colpo di stato oligarchico dal momento che aveva sempre militato nella fazione democratica. Ciò, oltre ad essere in contraddizione con quanto esplicitamente affermato da Lisia, non tiene sufficientemente conto della sua presenza al fianco del moderato Nicia al momento della conclusione della pace nel 421, avvenuta dopo una sua assenza dalla politica ateniese, nello specifico di parte democratica, nei sette anni precedenti. D'altra parte Agnone è il padre del 'coturno' Teramene, figura non estranea a simili oscillazioni politiche (Xen., *Hell.* 2.3.30; sul valore politico del soprannome, vd. Cagnazzi [2010] 122-124).

⁵⁶ Thuc. 2.70.2; 3.17.3. In 4.31.3, lo storico descrive l'organizzazione della spedizione siciliana e ricorda quella precedente contro Potidea, segnalando come anche allora lo sforzo militare fu ingente, ma inferiore rispetto a quello per la spedizione in Sicilia (παρασκευῇ φάυλῃ). Questa *excusatio non petita* della missione di Agnone sembra voler stornare da lui l'accusa di non essere stato in grado di sottomettere Potidea nonostante i mezzi ricevuti.

⁵⁷ Thuc. 2.95-101.

⁵⁸ La narrazione tucididea del ruolo svolto da Atene nella spedizione di Sitalce appare piuttosto confusa, in particolare riguardo al mancato arrivo dei contingenti ateniesi promessi al re tracio. Tuciddide afferma che, nonostante tali truppe non fossero mai giunte in supporto all'alleato, gli Ateniesi si erano premurati di inviare dei doni (2.101.1). I problemi legati alla narrazione di questi avvenimenti sono analizzati — a quanto mi risulta — soltanto da Fantasia (2003) 597.

parte con ogni probabilità della “*propertied class*”⁵⁹. È significativo che le loro vicende si intrecciano in un momento storico, vale a dire la crisi e la fine dell’egemonia politica periclea, avvenuta peraltro in una circostanza del tutto particolare per la storia della città.

Se l’affermazione politica di uomini non provenienti dai tradizionali settori dei *rentiers* aristocratici avviene poco prima e soprattutto dopo la morte di Pericle, essi sfruttano una situazione che risale ai decenni precedenti, quando la città si orientò al dominio del mare, creando i presupposti economici per l’ascesa dei ceti artigiani e commerciali. Aristotele attribuisce l’inizio di questo processo al conflitto che si ebbe tra l’emergente Pericle ed il vecchio Cimone⁶⁰, sulle cui caratteristiche generali la tradizione antica è sostanzialmente concorde, interpretando l’azione politica di Pericle, che introdusse l’indennità per i giudici e la retribuzione del servizio militare e diede il via ad un ampio piano di opere pubbliche volte ad impiegare mano d’opera, come il tentativo di contrastare l’*evergetismo* di Cimone, che costruiva consenso impiegando i propri beni. Secondo un aneddoto, ricordato nella *Costituzione degli Ateniesi* e nella biografia periclea di Plutarco, Cimone usava lasciare incustodite le sue terre di modo che i cittadini provenienti dal suo demo potessero raccogliergli liberamente i frutti⁶¹. In questo episodio si può cogliere il riferimento non solo a due diverse linee di condotta politica, ma anche a due diverse ricchezze, sia da un punto di vista quantitativo — i beni di Pericle erano inferiori — sia, soprattutto, qualitativo.

⁵⁹ Davies (1981) 1-37, individua come criterio per stabilire chi appartenesse alla *propertied class* l’aver sostenuto almeno una liturgia. Non essendone ricordate per i politici studiati in questo lavoro, a causa della lacunosità delle nostre fonti, il solo Agnone ha un certo spazio, seppure sotto la voce Θηραμένης (7234, pp. 227-228), nella prosopografia di J.K. Davies, *APF*, Lisicle è citato solo come marito di Aspasia sotto la voce Περικλῆς (11811, p. 458); di Eucrate non vi è traccia.

⁶⁰ La cronologia dello scontro è controversa. Aristot., *Ath. Resp.* 27.3, ritiene che esso fu successivo alla riforma dell’Areopago del 461, mentre Plut., *Per.* 9.2-5, sostiene che fu contemporaneo ad essa. È stato convincentemente ipotizzato (Piccirilli [1988] 81-84) che lo scontro tra Pericle e Cimone si debba collocare dopo il rientro di quest’ultimo dall’esilio, avvenuto probabilmente nel 457, cinque anni prima dei termini previsti (Theop., *FGrHist* 115 F88 = *Schol. in Aristid.* Orat. 3.528, 4 Dindorf; Nep., *Cim.* 3.3; Plut., *Cim.* 17.8; *Per.* 10.4-5), quando entrambi erano ad Atene e Pericle era divenuto, in seguito alla morte di Efialte, *prostates* del demo.

⁶¹ Wade-Gery (1938) 133, ha proposto di riconoscere nell’aneddoto relativo alla generosità cimoniana riportato da Aristot., *Ath. Resp.* 27.3; Theop. *FGrHist* 115 F89 = Athen. 12.44 (cfr. Cic., *Off.* 2.64; Nep., *Cim.* 4; Plut., *Per.* 9.2; *Cim.* 10.1-2) una fonte comune.

I due politici avevano, infatti, un modo diverso di gestire anche le proprietà personali. Pericle era, come Cimone, un possidente terriero⁶², ma il suo rapporto con la terra era molto diverso da quello del suo rivale, poiché, per razionalizzarne l'organizzazione, vendeva tutto il prodotto e viveva del denaro ricavato⁶³. L'amministrazione dei beni era affidata ad uno schiavo che rendicontava entrate e uscite, in una logica commerciale che superava e si contrapponeva alla tradizionale gestione agraria, che prevedeva la vendita del solo prodotto in eccesso⁶⁴. Egli, dunque, si caratterizza nella tradizione antica come un innovatore non solo dal punto di vista politico, affidando alla cura dello stato il sostentamento dei cittadini, fino ad allora legato alla generosità privata dei nobili proprietari di vasti terreni, ma anche dal punto di vista economico, favorendo il superamento di un'economia esclusivamente legata alla terra a vantaggio di una di tipo commerciale.

Anche la ricostruzione delle origini familiari di Pericle e Cimone riflette lo scontro che ci fu tra loro circa lo sviluppo economico di Atene. Una tradizione riportata da Pausania fa di Alcmeone un discendente di Nestore⁶⁵, riconducendo la sua discendenza ai Neleidi; un'altra tradizione, di segno opposto e più tarda⁶⁶, riconduce la famiglia ad un Alcmeone contemporaneo di Teseo, originario dell'Attica. L'autoctonia degli Alcmeonidi è sostenuta da Erodoto, a loro legato⁶⁷, per cui si può

⁶² La ricchezza terriera di Pericle è testimoniata da Thuc. 2.13.1, secondo cui l'alcmeonide, temendo che per un vincolo di ospitalità con Archidamo le sue terre sarebbero state risparmiate dalle devastazioni spartane e che ciò avrebbe danneggiato la sua immagine presso il popolo, promise di donare i suoi possedimenti alla città. Il fatto che le sue terre si trovassero lungo il percorso compiuto dai Lacedemoni ha fatto supporre che fossero situate nel demo di Colargo (*APF* 11811, p. 459).

⁶³ Plut., *Per.* 16.3.

⁶⁴ Stadter (1989) 196-199, ritiene che tale amministrazione fosse poco conveniente, "uneconomic", per l'Atene del V sec., pur rilevando la somiglianza con il modello attuale di economia agraria. Diversamente Osborne (1989) 134, pensa che l'amministrazione agraria periclea rispondesse alla crescente esigenza di disporre di denaro in un'economia che si andava sempre più delineando come economia di mercato. Si può inoltre osservare che questo metodo garantiva che tutto il prodotto fosse utilizzato, mentre il sistema tradizionale rischiava di sprecare prodotti nelle annate in cui il raccolto era abbondante, e di esserne privi nei periodi di carestia. La monetizzazione della produzione ne stabilizzava, per quanto possibile, il rendimento, oltre a facilitarne la gestione.

⁶⁵ Paus. 2.18.8.

⁶⁶ Harpocrat. s.v. Ἀλκμαιωνίδα; Hesych. s.v. [Ἀλκμαιωνίδα γένος Ἀ]θήνησιν; Sud. s.v. Ἀλκμαιωνίδα.

⁶⁷ Hdt. 5.62.2. Appare chiaro che la fonte privilegiata di Erodoto sulle origini degli Alcmeonidi fosse la tradizione della famiglia: vd. Nenci (1994) V XVII. Il rapporto dello storico con questa fonte è stato al centro di un lungo dibattito tra coloro che lo ritenevano

affermare che alla metà del V sec. la famiglia avesse diffuso questa versione delle proprie origini⁶⁸. Inoltre, sempre secondo lo storico di Alicarnasso, anche la ricchezza degli Alcmeonidi non proveniva dal territorio attico, fonte privilegiata di benessere per le nobili famiglie, ma dai legami che essi intrattenevano con l'oriente ed il santuario delfico. Egli, infatti, ricorda che Alcmeone, figlio di Megacle, fece da tramite tra il ricco e pio re lidio Creso ed il santuario delfico⁶⁹. Per ringraziarlo il re concesse ad Alcmeone di prendere tutto l'oro che fosse riuscito a portare sul suo corpo. Con grande astuzia egli ne prese enormi quantità, dando origine alla fortuna della famiglia, che solo successivamente si sarebbe legata alla terra, come testimonia la vittoria olimpica con i cavalli del figlio Megacle⁷⁰.

Nel V sec. esistevano, dunque, due visioni contrapposte delle origini familiari e della ricchezza degli Alcmeonidi, la più antica delle quali le riconduceva alla Ionia e alla Lidia, svincolandole dal territorio attico, mentre la seconda, probabilmente sostenuta dalla famiglia stessa in risposta alla propaganda cimoniana, ne faceva una famiglia autoctona. Anche per i Filaidi, infatti, si ricordano due diverse genealogie. Ferecide, contemporaneo di Cimone e a lui legato⁷¹, ne propone una che faceva di Telamone, il capostipite della famiglia, un figlio di Atteo, eponimo della

completamente dipendente da essa (Jacoby (1949) 152-168), fino a sostenerne l'inattendibilità (Gillis (1969) 133-145), e quanti ne hanno messo in luce l'attendibilità e l'uso oculato delle fonti, di molteplice provenienza (Develin (1985) 125-139).

⁶⁸ La genealogia alcmeonidea presente in Pausania che faceva risalire ai Neleidi, e quindi in ambiente ionico, le radici della famiglia, doveva risalire al VI sec., quando la Ionia rappresentava la parte più avanzata del mondo greco, mentre quella di Erodoto sarà stata diffusa dopo le guerre persiane, quando era Atene il centro dell'Egeo e la Ionia era stata annessa all'impero. Vd. Campone (2004) 85-89.

⁶⁹ Hdt. 6.125. Legrand (1948) 116 n. 3, ha proposto di correggere il nome del re lidio in Aliatte per motivi cronologici. *Contra* Nenci (1998) VI 304. Lo studioso, inoltre, sostiene che le fonti cui attinge lo storico sono orali e non favorevoli agli Alcmeonidi (303). Bisogna rilevare che contatti con Creso sono attestati anche per il filaide Milziade (Hdt. 6.37-38.1), che fu salvato dalla prigionia, cui era stato sottoposto dai Lampsaceni, proprio dal sovrano lidio. Tuttavia l'episodio non ricorda che il filaide abbia ricavato vantaggi economici da tale amicizia, a differenza di quanto attestato per Alcmeone, anzi è possibile sostenere che all'epoca della prigionia Milziade doveva già essere ricco (Hdt. 6.35.1).

⁷⁰ L'oro ricevuto da Creso fu con ogni probabilità investito nell'acquisto di terreni su cui ebbe inizio l'allevamento ippico, come testimonia Hdt. 6.125.5, per il quale, in seguito al dono del re lidio, Alcmeone conseguì una vittoria olimpica con i cavalli, il cui allevamento era prerogativa delle nobili famiglie proprietarie terriere, poiché presupponeva il possesso di terreni non destinati alla produzione agricola di sussistenza (cfr. Stein-Hölkeskamp (1989) 110-111).

⁷¹ Vd. Dolcetti (2004) 9-16.

regione di Atene⁷². Contrapposta a questa tradizione è quella ricordata da Erodoto che fa di Milziade, figlio di Cipselo, un discendente di Eaco ed Egina, eponima dell'isola storica rivale di Atene⁷³. Anche per quanto riguarda i Filaidi, dunque, nel V sec. si tramandavano due versioni opposte sulle loro origini, una favorevole, che li legava all'Attica, una ostile, che ne faceva degli stranieri. A differenza di quanto accade per gli Alcmeonidi, tuttavia, la provenienza terriera della ricchezza non è messa in discussione.

Queste genealogie rappresentano il riflesso ideologico del conflitto politico in atto tra Pericle e Cimone: al primo veniva rinfacciata la provenienza straniera delle sue ricchezze e i suoi legami con il mare, piuttosto che con la terra attica, mentre contro il secondo veniva scagliata l'accusa di millantare un'autoctonia non vera, anzi di avere le sue origini nell'isola dorica da sempre in lotta con Atene. Questi attacchi si intrecciano con la visione dei due politici, che propongono due linee di sviluppo diverse per la città, una più moderata e filolacedemone, l'altra mirante a sfruttare fino in fondo l'impero marittimo. Le conseguenze sul piano economico erano il mantenimento dell'assoluta supremazia di un'economia agraria nel caso di Cimone, mentre l'indirizzo pericleo comportava una crescita delle attività legate alla produzione artigianale e al commercio. Ad avere la meglio fu l'alcmionide, che, dopo il ritorno di Cimone dall'esilio dovuto all'ostracismo, riuscì a relegarlo in una posizione di subalternità rispetto a lui⁷⁴.

Lo scontro tra queste due tendenze politiche ed economiche si fece ancor più aspro quando a guidare la fazione moderata fu Tucidide, figlio di Melesia e parente di Cimone⁷⁵. La sua azione politica ebbe come

⁷² Pherec. F1 Dolcetti = *FGrHist* 3 F60 = Apollod., *Bibl.* 3.12.6.

⁷³ Hdt. 6.35.1. Oltre a collocare l'origine della famiglia nell'isola antica nemica di Atene, questa tradizione faceva dei Filaidi anche una famiglia di origini più recenti rispetto agli Alcmeonidi (vd. Nenci (1998) VI 199-200). Lo storico, infatti, sottolinea che solo al tempo di Fileo, figlio di Aiace, la famiglia aveva ottenuto la cittadinanza ateniese in cambio di Salamina (cfr. Pherec. F13 Dolcetti = *FGrHist* 3 F2 = Marcell., *Vita Thuc.* 2; Plut., *Sol.* 10.3).

⁷⁴ Plut., *Per.* 9.5; *Cim.* 17.3, ricorda che il motivo principale per cui Cimone venne ostracizzato fu il suo laconismo. [And.] 4.33; Didym. Al. F 27.5 Schmidt = *Schol. in Aristid.* Orat. 3.515, Dindorf; Sud. s.vv. ἀποστρακισθῆναι, Κίμων, ὀστρακισμός, ricordano come causa dell'ostracismo la sua relazione incestuosa con la sorella Elpinice. Probabilmente lo stretto rapporto che legava i due fratelli, unito alla loro immagine laconizzante, generò il sospetto di una relazione incestuosa secondo i costumi spartani. Vd. Piccirilli (1988) 86-89.

⁷⁵ Aristot., *Ath. Resp.* 28.2; Plut., *Per.* 11.1.

obiettivo in primo luogo quello di rimarcare le differenze tra i due gruppi politici, per cui anche nel contesto assembleare i καλοὶ καγαθοὶ dovevano distinguersi dalla moltitudine stando uniti ed occupando posti lontani da essa⁷⁶. Questo spinse Pericle verso una politica volta a conquistare ancor più il consenso del popolo, per cui mise in atto scelte miranti a dare lavoro e svago alla popolazione, ovviamente a carico dello stato. L'elemento che accese il conflitto fu lo sviluppo dell'edilizia pubblica e l'impegno economico che ciò comportava: Pericle sostenne contro Tucide l'utilizzo delle finanze imperiali e la sua vittoria rese Atene la città stipendiata (ἐμισθοῦν τὴν πόλιν) in cui ogni cittadino non impiegato nell'esercito poteva partecipare della ricchezza proveniente dall'impero (ἀπὸ τῶν δημοσίων ὠφελεῖσθαι καὶ μεταλαμβάνειν)⁷⁷. Erano coinvolti in questi lavori e da essi trassero profitto coloro che erano impiegati nel trasporto e nel commercio dei materiali e nella loro lavorazione. Tra costoro troviamo ἔμποροι, ζευγοτρόφοι, λινουργοί, σκυτοτόμοι, ossia commercianti, allevatori di bestiame, lavoratori del lino e del cuoio, attività legate all'edilizia pubblica⁷⁸. Il risultato fu l'enorme sviluppo del commercio ateniese, che fece del Pireo il più importante porto dell'Egeo⁷⁹. L'autore della *Costituzione degli Ateniesi* pseudosenofontea sottolinea come Atene controllasse non solo il traffico di tutti i materiali necessari per la costruzione ed il mantenimento della flotta⁸⁰, ma fosse città di importazioni ed esportazioni (εἰσάγεσθαι τι ἢ ἐξάγεσθαι) di beni, anche di lusso⁸¹. Per il Pericle tucidideo dell'*Epitafio* la grandezza di Atene non risiede nella terra, ma nella centralità che la città ha acquisito nei traffici commerciali, cosa che ha consentito un

⁷⁶ Plut., *Per.* 11.2. Tucide di Melesia inaugura un nuovo modo di affrontare il dibattito assembleare, organizzando il proprio consenso. In seguito è significativo il caso della discussione sulla spedizione in Sicilia, quando Alcibiade mobilita i giovani a sostegno della sua proposta provocando la reazione di Nicia, che chiede il voto contrario degli anziani (Thuc 6.13.1). Sebbene in questo caso la demarcazione sia generazionale, è chiaro che si era affermato l'uso da parte dei raggruppamenti politici di occupare posti diversi nell'assemblea.

⁷⁷ Plut., *Per.* 12.4-5.

⁷⁸ L'elenco plutarco dei mestieri coinvolti nello sviluppo edilizio di Atene include quelli cui erano dediti gli stessi Eucrate, Agnone e Cleone, rispettivamente mercante di corde, commerciante e conciatore.

⁷⁹ Indicativo del ruolo centrale del Pireo nei commerci nell'Egeo, sebbene descriva la situazione del secolo seguente, è Xen., *Vect.* 3.3-4.

⁸⁰ [Xen.] *Ath. Resp.* 2.11-12.

⁸¹ [Xen.] *Ath. Resp.* 2.3; 7.

benessere privato incomparabile con quello delle altre città greche⁸². Conseguenza di questo sviluppo degli scambi fu la specializzazione produttiva artigianale, che si concretizzava nel fiorire di botteghe sempre più grandi e orientate alla lavorazione di singoli prodotti per il mercato interno ed estero⁸³.

Eucrate, Lisicle e Agnone si collocano in questo processo economico. I versi dei *Cavalieri*⁸⁴ definiscono i primi due rispettivamente *στυπ-πειοπώλης* e *προβατοπώλης*, termini composti con *πώλης*, frequenti in questa commedia. Anche per il terzo politico della successione comica, ossia Paflagone-Cleone, viene utilizzato il medesimo suffisso, per cui egli risulta essere un *βυρσοπώλης*⁸⁵. I tre sostantivi si riferiscono alla vendita dei prodotti, cordami, pecore e pelli, ma l'utilizzo del suffisso da parte di Aristofane sembra funzionale al desiderio di ridicolizzare il lavoro dei tre uomini politici⁸⁶. Cleone, in particolare, viene da lui definito *βυρσοδέψην*, conciatore di pelli⁸⁷, cosa confermata da altre fonti secondo le quali egli non solo era attivo nella lavorazione, oltre che nella vendita di pelli, ma anche che lo faceva ad un livello quasi industriale, poiché possedeva una bottega specializzata che impiegava manodopera schiavile⁸⁸. Lo stesso varrà per Eucrate, che era proprietario anche di un mulino e di un allevamento di maiali, e non era quindi un commerciante al dettaglio. Lisicle operava in una produzione tra le più importanti per tradizione e importanza, ossia nel tessile, di cui l'allevamento di pecore era l'inizio della filiera, perciò, pur non possedendo riferimenti specifici alle dimensioni della sua impresa, possiamo

⁸² Thuc. 2.38.1-2. Poco prima (36.3) Pericle aveva definito Atene assolutamente auto-sufficiente (*αὐταρκεστάτην*), alludendo proprio ai beni provenienti da ogni luogo che vi arrivavano. Questa affermazione è stata definita da Fantasia (2003) 384, "sotto certi aspetti provocatoria" in rapporto ai sacrifici imposti dai primi anni di guerra.

⁸³ Vd. Xen., *Cyrop.* 8.2.5. Plat., *Resp.* 2.369e-371d, sottolinea la necessità di importazioni e di esportazioni di beni di varia natura per una città popolosa. Sullo sviluppo imperiale di Atene, che procurò ai ceti artigiani e commerciali notevoli occasioni di arricchimento, vd. Harris (2002) 79-80; sul conseguente sviluppo delle botteghe ateniesi, vd. Longo (1987) 80-82.

⁸⁴ Aristoph., *Eq.* 128-132.

⁸⁵ Cfr. Aristoph., *Eq.* 136; 139; 740; 852; *Pax* 270; 648.

⁸⁶ Essi potevano essere coinvolti sia nella lavorazione che nella vendita dei prodotti: vd. Valente (2006) 171-172.

⁸⁷ Aristoph., *Eq.* 44; *Nub.* 581.

⁸⁸ Sulla ricchezza della famiglia di Cleone, vd. *Schol. vet. in Aristoph. Eq.* 44c (II), 19 Mervyn-Jones, Wilson. Sulla possibilità che la fonte dello scolio vada identificata con Teopompo, vd. Saldutti (2009) 203-206.

supporre che anch'egli operasse su larga scala⁸⁹. Per Agnone bisogna tener presente che la φορτηγία consisteva nel trasporto delle merci; essa con la ναυκληρία e la παράστασις componeva l'ἐμπορία⁹⁰, per cui si può ipotizzare che Cratino (F 171) abbia voluto ridimensionare la ricchezza di suo padre Nicia limitandone l'attività ad un solo momento della più vasta *emporía*⁹¹.

La dimensione delle attività di questi politici li colloca nel pieno del processo economico individuato per l'Atene della metà del V sec., vale a dire lo sviluppo del commercio e la crescita delle imprese artigiane che consentirono rapidi arricchimenti. La conseguenza di tale successo economico fu senz'altro l'ingresso di Eucrate, Lisicle ed Agnone nella fascia sociale la cui ricchezza consentiva loro di adempiere ai doveri civici propri dei cittadini più in vista, tra cui anche la cura e l'amministrazione dello stato.

L'ascesa economica e sociale dei settori cittadini da cui provengono i tre politici maturò in più decenni, mentre colpisce la rapidità che caratterizzò la loro affermazione politica. Nello stesso periodo, inoltre, si riscontra una rapida e inesorabile decadenza di molte nobili famiglie antiche⁹². Già gli autori di IV sec. provarono a darne una spiegazione. Platone oscilla nel ritenere la causa di questo declino la mancata educazione o la sua insufficienza, che provocarono il non raggiungimento da parte dei giovani dell'*areté* paterna⁹³; Aristotele afferma che le famiglie nobili sono come i raccolti, discontinui di anno in anno, ed aggiunge che i discendenti di Pericle e Cimone si dimostrarono indegni dei padri perché degenerarono nella stupidità e nella mollezza (εἰς ἀβελτερίαν καὶ

⁸⁹ Thuc. 2.14.1, ricorda la premura degli Ateniesi al momento delle invasioni spartane, quando trasferirono in Eubea le greggi e gli armenti, un particolare che evidenzia come il settore dell'allevamento e del commercio, praticato da Lisicle, fosse molto importante (vd. Bettalli (1982) 261-271).

⁹⁰ Aristot., *Pol.* 1.1258b.

⁹¹ Il φορτηγός non possedeva né le merci né la nave su cui le trasportava, cosa che lo collocava all'ultimo posto della scala gerarchica dell'attività commerciale. Ciò, agli occhi del poeta Eveno di Paro (F8b West = Thgn. 667-682), faceva di lui un *kakòs* (vd. Mele (1979) 82, 99-100). È dunque possibile che Cratino abbia sfruttato questo pregiudizio per criticare Agnone e contestarne l'arricchimento.

⁹² L'eco di una riflessione sulla fine delle grandi famiglie può essere colta nelle tragedie euripidee *Ecuba* (591-602), *Supplici* (911-917) ed *Elettra* (367-372), composte tra il 428 ed il 416 (per la datazione, vd. Diggle (1984) I 338, per *Ecuba*; Diggle (1981) II 2, 58, per *Supplici* ed *Elettra*), in cui viene ripetutamente posto il tema dell'*areté* e della sua trasmissibilità.

⁹³ La prima spiegazione è in *Lach.* 179b-d; la seconda in *Meno* 93b-94d.

νοθρότητα)⁹⁴. Accanto a queste, altre cause sono da riconoscere: l'assenza di figli ed eredi, la perdita delle proprietà dovuta a diversi motivi, lo sperpero di beni in liturgie o per il lusso personale, e, infine, le salate multe comminate ai politici ritenuti colpevoli di reati contro lo stato⁹⁵.

Si può tuttavia aggiungere un elemento catalizzatore di questo processo, tale da consentire la rapida ascesa di politici come Eucrate, Lisicle ed Agnone: la strategia periclea di Atene nei primi anni della guerra del Peloponneso, che prevedeva l'inurbamento coatto della popolazione dell'Attica, così da essere protetta dalle invasioni spartane all'interno delle lunghe mura che circondavano la città e la collegavano al Pireo, dove sarebbero arrivati da tutto l'impero i beni necessari al sostentamento dei cittadini⁹⁶. Sino ad allora Pericle si era presentato come leader della città nella sua interezza⁹⁷. Lo storico Tucidide gli attribuisce una concezione della democrazia come la forma di governo in cui tutti possono partecipare alla gestione della città, avendo garantite le libertà individuali, a partire da quella di arricchimento, per cui tale regime non si caratterizza come il dominio di una parte sull'altra⁹⁸. L'unità civica si fondava sui vantaggi, soprattutto economici, derivati dall'impero per tutta la cittadinanza, non per il solo demo⁹⁹, e la ricchezza era la base grazie alla quale si armonizzavano i diversi interessi della nobiltà terriera e dei ceti commerciali. Tale armonia si frantumò a causa delle conseguenze della strategia adottata da Pericle.

⁹⁴ Aristot., *Rhet.* 2.1390b.

⁹⁵ Vd. Davies (1981) 73-87.

⁹⁶ La migliore sintesi della strategia periclea è in Thuc. 1.143.4-5; 2.13.3. Cfr. Diod. 12.39.5.

⁹⁷ Plut., *Per.* 15.1, descrive la situazione di dominio politico incontrastato venutasi a creare dopo l'ostracismo di Tucidide di Melesia, riconoscendo il tratto aristocratico e regale del governo di Pericle. L'immagine dell'alceonide come politico *super partes*, affermatasi già presso i contemporanei, specialmente presso lo storico Tucidide (2.65.8-10), citato poco più avanti nella *Vita*, è ripresa nella ricostruzione plutarchea secondo la quale Pericle poté ripensare la sua linea politica grazie al superamento dei precedenti schieramenti politici e sociali (παντάπασι λυθείσης τῆς διαφορᾶς; vd. Stadter (1989) 187). L'egemonia periclea fu comunque favorita anche dalla stabilità nei rapporti con Sparta in seguito alla pace dei Trent'anni firmata, come si legge in Thuc. 1.115.1, nel 446.

⁹⁸ Thuc. 2.37.1.

⁹⁹ Nell'ultima sua orazione il Pericle tucidideo afferma che il prestigio di cui gode la città grazie all'impero è cosa di cui tutti si gloriano, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄρχειν, ὅπερ ἅπαντες ἀγάλλεσθε (Thuc. 2.63.1). A riprova dell'interesse che i settori oligarchici avevano a mantenere intatto l'impero, basti ricordare che Frinico, ancora nel 411, era consapevole dei vantaggi che da esso derivavano per gli aristocratici (Thuc. 8.48.6), tanto che il tentativo di pace con Sparta da lui auspicato escludeva l'abbandono dell'impero, che doveva essere mantenuto 'ad ogni costo', ὅπωςοῦν (Thuc. 8.91.3).

L'abbandono della *chora* attica, oggetto delle annuali invasioni dell'esercito peloponnesiaco¹⁰⁰, provocò una riduzione della sua importanza economica, come si evince dalle parole del Pericle tucidideo, che miravano a segnalare come il baricentro economico della città non risiedeva più nella terra, definita 'un orticello' (κηπίον), bensì sul mare¹⁰¹. Ad Atene, privata del suo entroterra, si sarà sviluppato con ogni probabilità il processo economico che Eforo descrisse per Egina, quando afferma che il presupposto economico della coniazione di moneta nell'isola era stata la penuria di terreno, con il conseguente incremento dell'*emporìa*, stabilendo così un nesso logico tra mancanza di suolo ferace, commercio e sviluppo monetario dell'economia¹⁰². In città, infatti, nei primi anni di guerra, aumentò la circolazione di moneta di piccolo valore¹⁰³, segnale della crescita del volume e della varietà del commercio¹⁰⁴. Non si può dubitare del fatto che la dipendenza di Atene dai traffici commerciali abbia reso maggiore il peso economico, sociale e politico di chi li gestiva, a danno, evidentemente, dei ricchi proprietari terrieri¹⁰⁵. Tucidide

¹⁰⁰ La prima invasione avvenne nel 431 (Thuc. 2.18.1; 23.3); la seconda nel 430 (2.47.2; 55.1; 57.2); la terza nel 428 (3.1); la quarta nel 427 (3.26.1-3); la quinta e ultima nel 425 (4.2.1).

¹⁰¹ Thuc. 2.62.2-3. Κηπίον indica un piccolo pezzo di terra destinato a colture minori, differente dal seguente ἐγκαλλώπισμα che indica i giardini ornamentali (Bétant (1843) I, s.v. ἐγκαλλώπισμα; Bétant (1847) II, s.v. κηπίον; Fantasia (2003) 467. *Contra* Hornblower (1991) I 336, che ritiene la coppia di sostantivi un'endiadi).

¹⁰² Ephor. *FGrHist* 70 F176 = Strabo 8.6.16. Sul frammento e sul nesso tra commercio e circolazione monetaria, vd. Lombardo (1997) 681-706, in particolare 704 sullo sviluppo dell'economia ateniese durante la guerra del Peloponneso.

¹⁰³ La circolazione di monete di piccolo valore è testimoniata da Hermipp. FF13, 61 K-A; Eup. F247 K-A; Aristoph., *Pax* 1198-1202; F3 K-A, tutti provenienti da commedie rappresentate negli anni '20 del V sec., che attestano l'esistenza di monete, dette κόλυβοι e σύμβολοι, che erano valori divisionari dell'obolo (Theoph., *De Lap.* F 2.45; Poll., *Onom.* 9.70-72). Sul complesso problema del metallo con cui erano coniate e dell'autorità emittente, vd. Figueira (1998) 496-511.

¹⁰⁴ Un frammento dei *Facchini* (Φορμοφόροι) di Ermippo, rappresentati tra il 426 ed il 425 (F63 K-A; vd. Gilula (2000) 79) descrive l'enorme varietà di merci che giungevano al Pireo durante i primi anni di guerra. I prodotti enumerati sono beni di lusso, per cui, pur tenendo conto del gioco comico, si deduce che, anche in quel momento, il Pireo era il luogo di scambio di merci di ogni tipo. Aristoph., *Ach.* 33-36, testimonia come molti contadini, in particolare dei demi periferici, fossero stati costretti dalla guerra a rinunciare alla loro tradizionale 'autarchia' e a comprare al mercato cittadino.

¹⁰⁵ Thuc. 2.65.2. In 2.11.6-8; 20.2, lo storico sottolinea la convinzione di Archidamo che gli Ateniesi non avrebbero sopportato la devastazione delle proprie terre. Si può ipotizzare che due fattori contribuissero a rafforzare tale convincimento: una visione tipicamente spartana della centralità della terra nelle dinamiche politiche, e la sopravvalutazione del ruolo che i proprietari terrieri avevano nella città nemica. Doveva risultare affatto strano per il re spartano che non fossero costoro a dominare ad Atene, come dimo-

afferma, infatti, che costoro, assieme ai contadini, furono il segmento sociale maggiormente danneggiato dalla strategia periclea. La divergenza tra i diversi interessi ebbe un'immediata ricaduta politica. Coloro i quali traevano guadagno da attività svincolate dalla terra, avvantaggiati dalla presente situazione, avranno rifiutato di farsi rappresentare dai politici tradizionali legati alla *chora* ateniese¹⁰⁶.

La strategia difensiva voluta da Pericle, inoltre, fu la causa della peste che colpì la città a più ondate tra il 430 e il 427¹⁰⁷. La popolazione rurale, ammassatasi nel centro cittadino in condizioni igieniche assai precarie, costituì l'ambiente ideale per lo sviluppo del contagio proveniente dall'Egitto. Le conseguenze furono disastrose per Atene, che contò circa 15.000 cittadini morti, vale a dire un terzo della cittadinanza complessiva¹⁰⁸. Tra le vittime vi furono molti politici vicini a Pericle, oltre ai due figli, Santippo e Paralo, avuti dalla prima moglie, cosa che costrinse il grande stratego a chiedere una deroga alla legge sulla cittadinanza — da lui precedentemente proposta — per poter far iscrivere alla fratria un suo figlio omonimo avuto da Aspasia¹⁰⁹. Occorre rilevare che la morte, in battaglia o per malattia, che colpì le persone vicine a Pericle privò la città di eredi politici diretti, fossero essi consanguinei o meno¹¹⁰, rendendo più agevole l'ascesa di uomini non provenienti dalle

stra la sua inutile attesa nella primavera del 431 di vedere uscire dalle mura gli araldi ateniesi inviati a chiedere un accordo (2.18.5).

¹⁰⁶ Thuc. 2.59.2, riferisce di un tentativo fatto nel 430 di giungere alla pace con Sparta. Lo storico, come lamentava già Dion. Hal., *Thuc.* 14, non fornisce i nomi degli ambasciatori né i discorsi da loro tenuti, non chiarendo, dunque, la natura di tali azioni diplomatiche. Nel discorso tenuto da Pericle subito dopo questi contatti tra Ateniesi e Spartani, con lo scopo di dissuadere i concittadini dal continuare le trattative, sono definiti *apragmones* coloro i quali vogliono desistere dal conflitto, rischiando così di far collassare l'impero (Thuc. 2.63.2; 64.4). In base a tale definizione la critica moderna ha provato a definirne le caratteristiche socio-politiche: in passato si è ritenuto che Pericle alludesse a correnti filosofiche (Nestle (1926) 94-104), o a generici pacifisti privi di chiara collocazione politica o sociale (Gomme (1956) II 177), mentre gli studiosi più recenti, con cui concordo, hanno sottolineato come l'*apragmosyne* fosse una virtù presente nell'apparato ideologico dell'aristocrazia sin dai tempi di Pindaro e hanno supposto che gli *apragmones* vadano identificati con gli aristocratici tradizionalisti (Carter (1986) 38-51; Fantasia (2003) 470-473).

¹⁰⁷ Thuc. 2.47.3-54; 3.87.1-3.

¹⁰⁸ Thuc. 3.87.3, fornisce solo il numero dei deceduti appartenenti alle prime tre classi, quasi 5000, da cui si può calcolare approssimativamente anche il numero dei teti, che doveva essere almeno il doppio, per un totale di circa 15.000 cittadini (cfr. Hornblower (1991) I 494).

¹⁰⁹ Plut., *Per.* 36-37.5.

¹¹⁰ L'unico parente di Pericle attivo tra la sua morte e l'ascesa di Alcibiade fu il nipote Ippocrate, figlio del fratello Arifrone, che fu stratego nel 426/5 (*IG* I³ 369 = *IG* I² 324) e

famiglie tradizionalmente impegnate nell'amministrazione della città. La sorte degli Alcmeonidi colpì anche altre grandi famiglie attiche, i cui patrimoni, in seguito all'epidemia, scomparvero in breve tempo e illustri casate si trovarono all'improvviso prive di risorse, mentre salirono alla ribalta nuove famiglie¹¹¹.

La tradizione riportata da Aristotele che individua in Cleone il capostipite di una generazione di politici diversi dai predecessori, poiché non provenienti dagli *epieikeis*, l'antica nobiltà terriera ateniese, non tiene conto dell'affermazione di uomini provenienti già precedentemente dall'artigianato e dal commercio: Cleone emerge quando tale dinamica è matura, mentre sono Eucrate, Lisicle e Agnone i politici che lo hanno preceduto nella guida del demo. In passato Pericle aveva spostato sempre più il baricentro della politica ateniese sul mare, cosa che comportò un rapido sviluppo del commercio e dell'artigianato e, in una fase avanzata della sua carriera, l'emergere di persone arricchitesi grazie a queste attività. Lo scoppio della guerra e l'adozione da parte dell'alcmeonide di una strategia militare, che abbandonava la *chora* attica ai nemici e legava la sopravvivenza della città ai beni che provenivano dall'impero, crearono una rottura politica tra i *rentiers* e i nuovi ricchi. Inoltre lo scoppio della peste decimò la popolazione, imponendo un ricambio generazionale che favorì l'emergere di figure di secondo piano, che si trovarono a competere per la guida della fazione democratica. La vicenda politica di Eucrate, Lisicle e Agnone spiega perché nacquero due diverse tradizioni sugli inizi della decadenza ateniese: una la collocava durante l'egemonia periclea, ossia quando furono gettate la basi economiche per l'affermarsi dei nuovi settori da cui questi politici provenivano; l'altra la collocava dopo la morte dell'alcmeonide, quando la loro autorità politica si impose presso ampi strati della popolazione.

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nel 424/3 (Thuc. 4.66.3), quando morì nella catastrofe di Delio (Thuc. 4.101.2; cfr. *APF* 11811, p. 456). L'omonimo figlio di Pericle per la sua giovane età — aveva meno di diciotto anni al momento della morte del padre — non poté candidarsi nell'immediato ad assumerne il ruolo politico, cosa che riuscì parzialmente a fare solo alcuni anni dopo, dato che fu ellenotamo nel 410/9 (*IG* I³ 375 = *IG* I² 304A) e stratego nel 406/5 (Xen., *Hell.* 1.5.16; Diod. 13.74.1), ma la sua condanna a morte in seguito al processo agli strateghi delle Arginuse ne stroncò la carriera.

¹¹¹ Thuc. 2.53.1.

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QUANTIFYING IMPRECISELY DATED SOURCES

A NEW INCLUSIVE METHOD FOR CHARTING DIACHRONIC CHANGE IN GRAECO-ROMAN EGYPT

Abstract: This article presents a new method for quantifying imprecisely dated sources developed in the course of the Trismegistos People project. By attributing a relative weight to each date connected to a document, a chronological analysis can combine precision, analyzing evolutions per year, with inclusivity, using all texts, regardless of how precisely they are dated. The same principle can be (and has been) applied to name attestations in the documents.

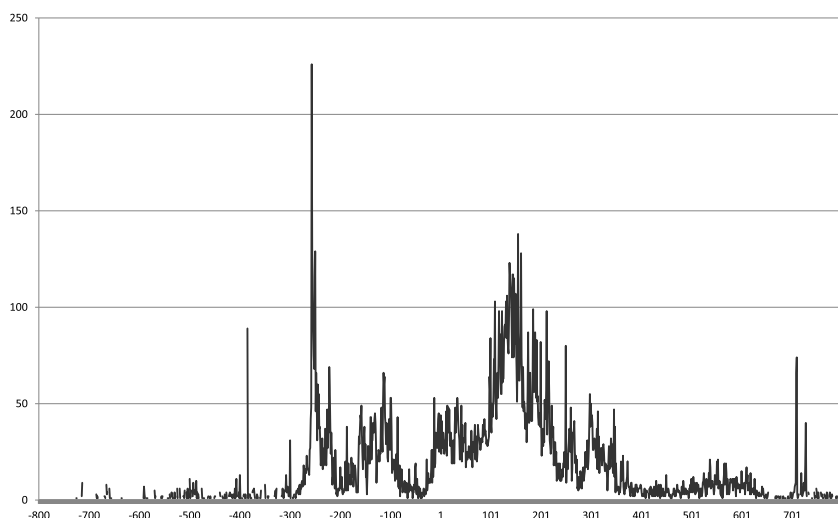
Quantification is essential in many scientific disciplines, from medicine to sociology. The arrival of the computer and the growing availability of digital tools have also facilitated its application to historical scholarship of the Ancient World. Obviously, the sample size is often limited because only a tiny portion of the documents have survived the tooth of time. Together with the sometimes seemingly random selection of preserved texts, some scholars have traditionally been reluctant to use quantifying tools in their research.¹ The large and varied body of evidence from Ancient Egypt, however, in particular lends itself to quantitative evaluation. The recently established online platform Trismegistos has brought together metadata for most of the currently published papyrological and epigraphic material from Egypt between 800 BC and AD 800.² The database thus allows and simplifies quantitative evaluation of various historical problems, from shifting language preferences to the use of writing material. Of primordial importance, however, is the chronological spread of the evidence; a lot of effort of Trismegistos and its partners has gone into accurately documenting the known date or date range of published papyri.

WEIGHED DATES

Some documents are firmly anchored chronologically because they contain explicit information which can be converted to a precise year (or even day) in the Julian calendar. Trismegistos currently (31 May 2012) contains 21,966 of them, and their irregular chronological distribution is shown in graph 1.

¹ See also Bagnall (2011) 27-53: “The Ubiquity of Documents in the Hellenistic East”.

² See www.trismegistos.org.



Graph 1: exactly dated texts

As expected, chances of preservation have led to peaks, which can be identified with sets of texts dated to a particular year, mostly in a papyrus archive. The peak for 385 BC is due to a group of 84 Cypriote graffiti, written by Greek mercenaries in the chapel of Akoris in Thebes.³ That of 257 BC is largely caused by the archive of Zenon, which includes many private letters and other texts dated to years 28-29 of Ptolemy II.⁴ Letters are also responsible for the peak in AD 710, the apex of activity in the archive of Basilios, pagarches of Aphrodito,⁵ while Coptic tax receipts on ostraca, all written by the same Aristophanes, create the high figure for AD 728.⁶

Apart from the sharp peaks, however, there also seem to be longer-term evolutions, such as an increase in the number of documents after 280 BC, with depressions for the early 2nd and the middle 1st century BC, and a new and impressive rise in the 1st and particularly 2nd century AD.⁷ After about AD 350, the amount of evidence decreases sharply.

³ Vittmann (2003) 209.

⁴ Pestman et al. (1981) 173-175.

⁵ For this archive, see <http://www.trismegistos.org/archive/124>.

⁶ Boud'hors (1996) 161-175.

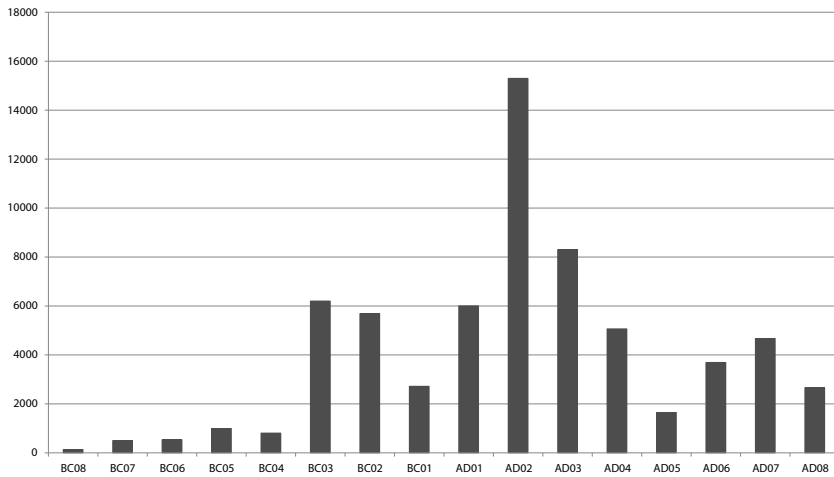
⁷ Compare also Habermann (1998) 144-160.

The 21,966 exactly dated documents form a minority in the Trismegistos database, which currently contains 111,654 entries from Egypt and the Nile Valley between 800 BC and AD 800.⁸ For most documents only an approximate date can be established on the basis of criteria such as prosopographical identifications, administrative changes, price levels, or palaeography. For a more realistic impression of the chronological spread, this imprecisely dated evidence should be included as well. After all, Trismegistos also contains literary texts and inscriptions, which are much less likely to be precisely dated than documentary texts such as tax receipts and contracts. Graph 1 therefore inherently risks to illustrate only the latter subset, rather than the evidence in its entirety.

To illustrate long-term developments, a common method increasing coverage is to use centuries as basic delimiter on the chronological X-axis and count all material assigned to each century. In this way substantially more material is covered for all periods, and for some centuries — in particular where even documents are less precisely anchored in time — the evidence is almost doubled. Graph 2 shows the distribution per century of all texts assigned to a single century. In comparison with Graph 1, however, there are obviously several drawbacks to this method. Short-term evolutions as well as peaks caused by irregular distribution are lost because of the use of centuries as delimiter on the X-axis. The third century BC thus seems better represented in general than the fourth century AD, while in fact that is largely due to the high peaks created by the Zenon archive.

Illustrating the irregular chronological distribution of historical evidence thus seems caught in a dilemma between the exclusion of valuable less precisely dated sources (method 1: Graph 1) and the loss of precision and accuracy (method 2: Graph 2). Or in other words: when setting out evidence against a timeline, the units of time can be years, decades or perhaps even centuries. The smaller the unit, the fewer texts can be fitted into these ‘time slots’ correctly, since for many there are only approximate dates. On the other hand, opting for a very large time slot

⁸ We have excluded the 5,090 items in Trismegistos that predate BC 800 (mainly Books of the Dead) and the 14,844 items from outside Egypt (mainly literary texts from the Leuven Database of Ancient Books, papyrological texts such as wooden tablets from e.g. Vindolanda or Vindonissa, and Latin inscriptions from Macedonia and Venetia et Histria: see <http://www.trismegistos.org/index2>). In all, Trismegistos now counts 131,588 documents.



Graph 2: texts assigned to a single century

will result in a rather distorted picture when the texts are analyzed by date. And although more texts will fit in a unit correctly, still not all of them will be included. Especially for dates based on palaeography, the chronological range can be large, even spanning several hundreds of years.

To avoid losing this information, an often applied practical solution is to maintain the century as time unit, but to divide the documents whose chronological range spans two centuries by two. The resulting figures are then distributed over the centuries involved.⁹ Thus a group of twenty texts dated between the middle of the second and the middle of the third century AD (151-250) is then counted as ten for the second and ten for the third century. The evidence of documents dated between 190 and 210 is then, however, spread over the *entire* second and the *entire* third century AD, and the large ‘Zenon’ cluster of texts dated precisely to BC 257 will not show up. This will give the false impression that the third century is well represented throughout. A document dated between AD

⁹ E.g. Clarysse & Paganini (2009) 72 n. 14. The numbers of texts dated to three and four centuries should in this method be divided by three and four respectively and again assigned to the centuries involved. This procedure is rare, however, because of the work involved and because almost all Greek texts are dated to a span of two centuries or less.

126 and 225 is counted half for the second century and half for the third, although obviously its range falls more in the former than in the latter.

These shortcomings can be remedied by taking a much smaller time slot as unit, in casu the Julian year, but still apply the same principles. Central is the attribution of a relative weight to each date connected to a document. All texts dated to a precise year (or better) receive the maximum relative weight of 1; other texts, which are dated to a range of possible years, get a relative weight equalling 1 divided by the possible number of years, or:

$$\text{weight} = 1/((y_2 - y_1) + 1)$$

A text assigned to the years AD 100-103 will therefore have a relative weight of 0.25 or 1/4 for the years AD 100, 101, 102, and 103.¹⁰ Very imprecisely dated texts with ranges spanning several centuries, e.g. AD 101-300, have a very low relative weight of 1/200 or 0.005, for the 200 years from AD 101 to AD 300. The sum of a text's relative weights should always amount to 1, obviously. This breakdown method for the chronological analysis combines the precision of method 1, analyzing evolutions per year, but also retains the inclusive character of method 2, using all texts, regardless of how precisely they are dated.

This 'weighed dates' method may at first sight seem forbidding in view of the multitude of calculations necessary to implement it. Manually adding up and dividing the results of individual searches is obviously not an option, but a digital solution can be found in a technically slightly more challenging way. In Trismegistos a specific database structure with a set of three related tables has been created. One table contains the unique identification numbers of all documents with a date range of less than 1,000 years¹¹; other fields in this table are the text's earliest and latest possible dates, a calculation of the date range, and the corresponding relative weight. A second table consists of 2,000 records listing all years between 1,000 BC and AD 1,000. A third and final table joins the two previous ones and contains a record for each combination of a text and a possible year, with the weight of the text for this particular year indicated in a separate field. Thus the text dated to AD 100-103

¹⁰ Note that these ranges are inclusive and use the Julian calendar: a text dated AD 50-51 has a two-year range.

¹¹ Currently 109,364 texts; texts with a date range larger than 1,000 years are rare, and for the purpose of creating a more accurate date analysis their impact is minimal anyway.

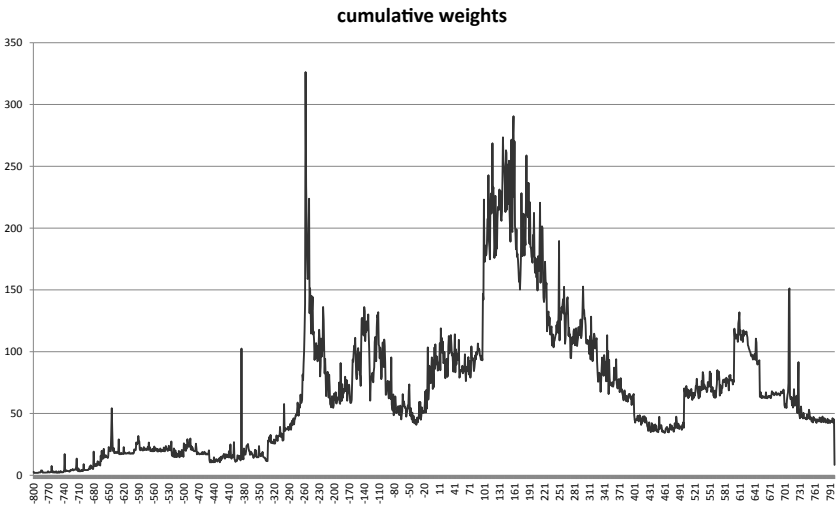
mentioned above would result in four records in this last table: one for each of the four years in which it may have been written, but each with a relative weight of only 0.25 or 1/4. Combining all texts from Egypt in Trismegistos with each of the years to which they can possibly be assigned obviously leads to an exponential growth of the database; at the time of writing, the join table has almost 17 million records (16,757,586 to be precise).

Given their relational structure, these tables can be used to show:

- the number of texts possibly to be dated in a particular year;
- the cumulative relative weights of the texts possibly dated in a particular year.

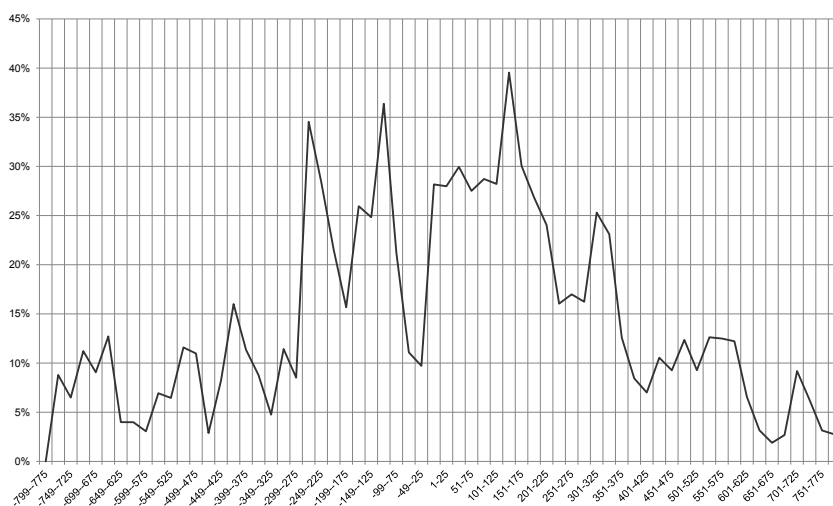
Since the relative weights of texts dated to more than a single year are fractions, their summation to a cumulative weight for each year will almost invariably be a decimal, e.g. 124.477 ‘texts’ for AD 289 (which can be rounded to 124.48 or 124.5 if desired). Therefore it clearly is a theoretical and calculated result which is only valid in a statistical approach.

The application of this method to the chronological distribution of the 111,654 documents in Trismegistos results in graph 3 (cumulative weights by year).



Graph 3: weighed dates

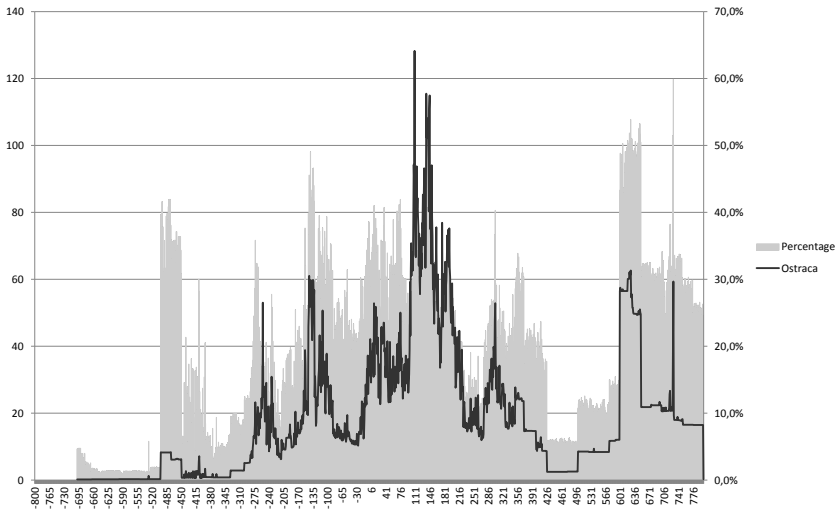
Although the graph is characterized by similar peaks, the differences with Graph 1 are apparent at closer inspection. Substantially more material is included, which results in a marked contrast especially for the 8th–4th centuries BC and the 5th–8th centuries AD. In these periods less than 10% of all texts are assigned to a precise year, as visualized in Graph 4.



Graph 4: percentage of precisely dated texts per 25 years

This method of breaking down the dating information statistically may also be used for smaller subsets of the texts database. Thus two or more criteria can be compared on a chronological basis, e.g. in Graph 5 the relative importance of ostraca (both pottery sherds and limestone fragments) as writing material. The absolute figures for ostraca (rendered by a line) are similar to the general chronological distribution, even if the proportion of ostraca varies between 5 and 50%.

Of course, for some purposes the inclusive character of this method may be undesired, particularly if short-term evolutions are studied and material with only a very approximate date would merely flatten the curve. It is easy, however, to exclude texts which are dated too vaguely by setting a minimum value for the relative weight and thus work only with texts that have the desired level of certainty.



Graph 5: ostraca

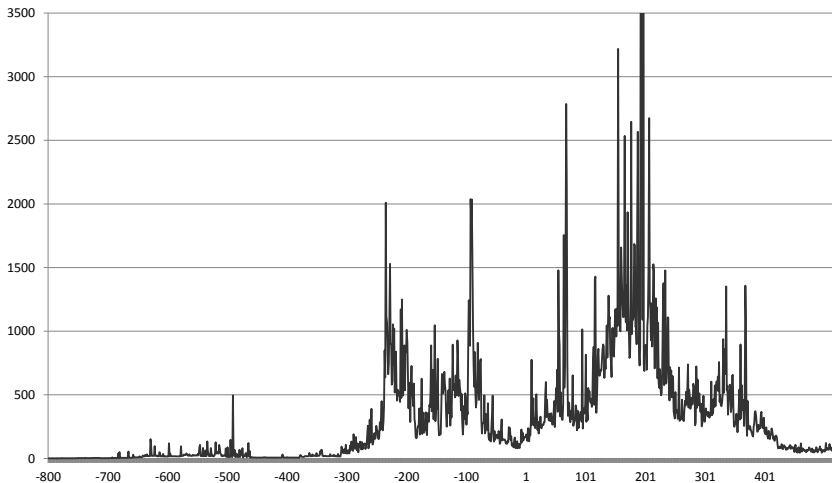
WEIGHED DATES AND NAME ATTESTATIONS

Similar statistical analyses can be performed on other metadata stored in separate Trismegistos databases which are connected with the central texts database supplying the dates. An interesting application of this architecture is the weighing of name attestations for prosopographic or onomastic analysis. Since a relative weight can be attributed to a text based on its dating, attestations of people within the text are equally dated and may similarly be given a relative weight. A text with 50 names precisely dated to AD 126 is counted as 50 for that particular year, while a text with 50 names dated to the range AD 126-175 is counted as 1 for each year from 126 to 175.

Since attestations of people (currently 458,017) are stored in a separate database, this again needs to be joined with the previously discussed weighed dates table to calculate the relative weight. As with the texts, this action results in a new table with one entry for every theoretical possible combination of a name attestation with the year in which it occurs and with a relative weight taken from the text's relative weight. Since there are more references to people in texts than texts themselves, this leads to a further multiplication of calculations: according to the number of name attestations in the set, theoretically around 70 million records

can be involved.¹² Through a similar relational table layout, the name attestations per year are then calculated, of course using the cumulative relative weights rather than the absolute numbers. Graph 6 shows the evolution of the number of personal names mentioned in the texts.¹³ With the exception of high peaks of up to over 13,745.528 ‘name attestations’ for the period between AD 171-175, caused by tax rolls from Karanis,¹⁴ the curve resembles that of the weighed evidence for texts (Graph 3). As we have observed elsewhere,¹⁵ the average number of names mentioned per text indeed seems stable.

Again, this method can also be used for more specific questions. Thus setting out the occurrences of individuals with a given name on a chronological scale allows to gauge the popularity of a particular name through



Graph 6: weighed names

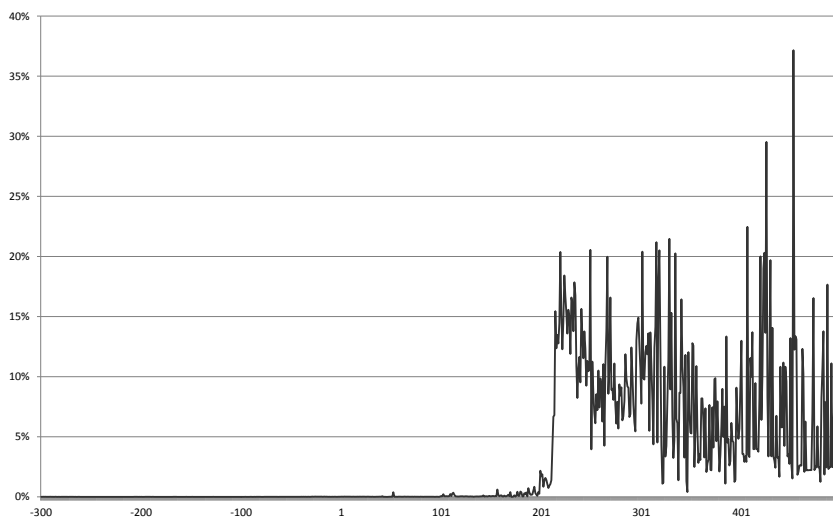
¹² 458,017 times the average weight of 154.99 per text. In practice, however, the figure is much smaller since names tend to be more frequent in more precisely dated texts and ‘only’ just over 25 million (25,021,515) records are involved.

¹³ To prevent flattening the curve, we have topped the scale of the Y axis at 3500, although the values for AD 171-175 are much higher (see next note). Names in texts after AD 500 have not yet been included systematically, which is why the X axis stops there.

¹⁴ *P. Cairo Mich.* 359 (TM 10432), *P. Mich.* 4 223 + *SB* 14 11710 (TM 11998), *P. Mich.* 4 224 (TM 11999), and *P. Mich.* 4 225 (TM 12000), currently containing 28,876 references in all in the TM People database.

¹⁵ Depauw & Van Beek (2009) 31-47.

time. Graph 7 shows the popularity of the name Aurelius, which in Egypt is normally added as some kind of name prefix before the given name, e.g. Αὐρήλιος Ἑρμίας. The *Constitutio Antoniniana* of AD 212 clearly had a profound effect on onomastic practice in Egypt, unlike what the epigraphic evidence of some other provinces may suggest.¹⁶



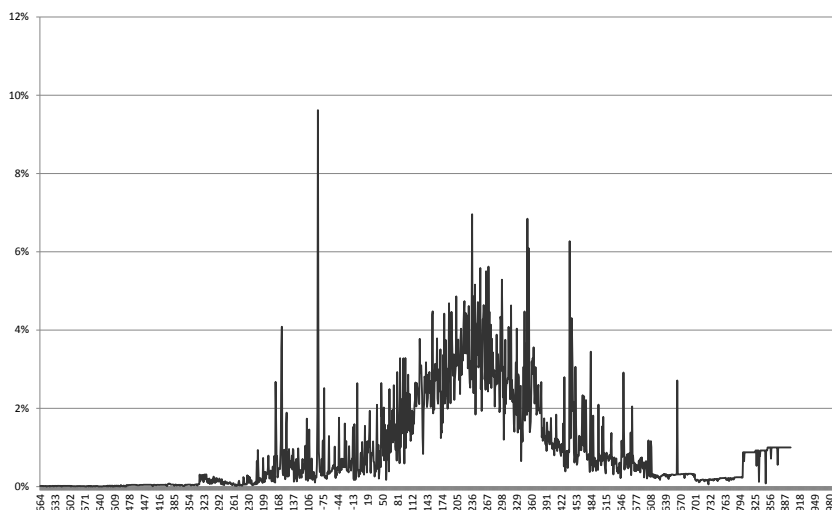
Graph 7: Aurelius

With the advanced onomastic analysis of the names-database built into the architecture of the Trismegistos platform, this method can also be applied to larger name groups or certain name types (e.g. names referring to sacred animals, names following a given grammatical pattern,¹⁷ Christian names,¹⁸ ...). Graph 8 e.g. renders diachronic changes in the popularity of Sarapis-names.

¹⁶ Mullen (2007) esp. p. 47 about the curse tablets of Bath, where the bulk dates from after AD 212: “[...] none of the tablets show duo or tria nomina. This is either testament to the weak influence of the edict in Bath or indicates that highly Roman forms were felt inappropriate in the conversation of Celts to their goddess.” We certainly suggest that the latter is far more probable than the former. Compare Salway (1994) 133-136.

¹⁷ E.g. Jennes & Depauw (2012) 141-161.

¹⁸ See Depauw & Clarysse (forthcoming).



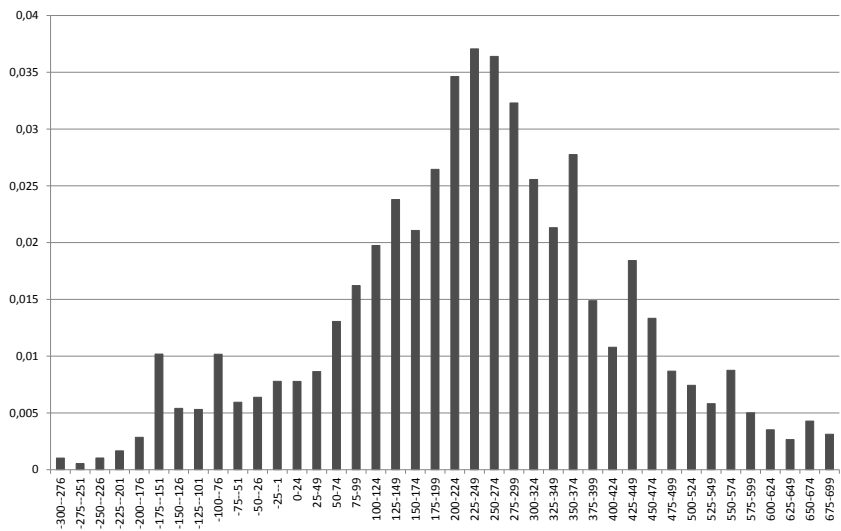
Graph 8: Sarapis-names

In a methodologically innovative article from 2009, Clarysse and Paganini have discussed the popularity of Sarapis-names. They conclude that Sarapis-names gradually start to gain popularity from the late third century BC onwards to reach their peak in the second and third centuries AD, with a rapid decline after 360. The more detailed analysis by year in graph 8 suggests that the increase in the course of the Ptolemaic period may be due to peaks in particular years (connected to certain individuals?).

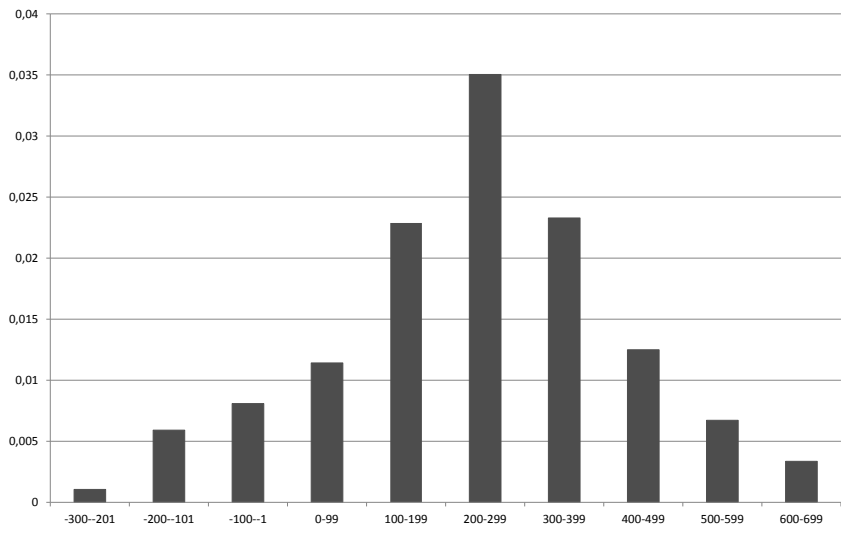
The peak years with their marked outliers may seem disturbing at first, but they should be carefully analyzed. They disappear when the data are presented in a graph which groups the results in 25-year periods or even by century (as we have done for the same Sarapis data in Graphs 9 and 10 respectively). Thus already in Graph 9, the marked outliers of the second and early first century BC in Graph 8 are blending into a general upwards trend, and in Graph 10 they have vanished altogether. The smoother curve may disguise an anomaly, however, in this case the numerous attestations of *Σαραπίων* the *ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων* in the archive of Peteimouthes and Harchebis.¹⁹ This may also explain the minor differences between our Graph 10 and that of Clarysse and Paganini: they have tried to identify Sarapis-attestations with individual persons,²⁰ whereas we have contented ourselves with the raw attestations.

¹⁹ For this archive, see TM Archives (www.trismegistos.org/archive/456).

²⁰ Please note that we compare with Graph 1 in the article by Clarysse-Paganini (2009) which shows the relative figures (and not the absolute as the authors write).



Graph 9: Sarapis-names per 25 years



Graph 10: Sarapis-names per century

THE INTERPRETATION OF WEIGHED DATES CHARTS

The above weighed-dates graphs all work with attestations of names and name variants, without prosopographical identifications. Sometimes, as we have seen, it is statistically important to discern carefully between actual persons and attestations of a person. The best example of this problem is Zenon, the well-known manager of a large estate in the Fayum in the mid-third century BC. As owner of the famous archive called after him, his name obviously appears so frequently that it is 'over-represented' as a result. The same will be true for other archive owners and important officials who appear frequently in certain groups of documents. This clustering shows that one should be cautious to draw conclusions on the basis of 'raw' statistics, since the preserved sources are obviously not random selections. Evolutions should always be evaluated against the uneven preservation of sources through archaeology.²¹

Prosopographical identifications are often far from self-evident, however, certainly over different documents, and can form the subject of scholarly debate. In a database such as Trismegistos People, identifications will often prove impossible, either because most people simply do not occur more than once in the extant sources, or because homonymous people cannot be identified reliably. Moreover the work of identifying people across documents has only started, and will be the subject of a next phase of database work. A chronological breakdown based on persons rather than on attestations is also foreseen in a future development of the current weighing method.

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²¹ As illustrated by Bagnall (2011) 56-74.

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BOOK BURNING AS CONFLICT MANAGEMENT IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE (213 BCE – 200 CE)

Abstract: This article investigates the practice of book burning in the Roman Empire from the first recorded incident in 213 BCE until the second century CE. While the introduction of Greek literary traditions was sometimes seen negatively in republican Rome, cases of book burning are few and only related to subversive religious writings. Dissidence in writing often was the cause for severe punishment in the imperial period, but the emperors very rarely tried to remove books from circulation by deliberate destruction. In nearly all of the few cases of reported book burning, it was both with the formal permission and in the interest of senators who may have felt slandered that these books were ordered to be burnt. Book burning in the early imperial period was rare, generally despised, and inefficient. Banned books regularly attracted unusual attention. Book burning in the early Roman Empire may often better be seen as an exceptional strategy with which emperors dealt with conflicts within the senatorial order rather than as an expression of imperial authoritarian rule.

The history of book burning is almost as old as the history of the book itself. Book burning is often considered under the heading of censorship or — in a less negative connotation — of canon formation.¹ Today, book burning is often held to be a particularly egregious form of silencing political or religious adversaries. It is often associated with a totalitarian state and the active suppression of freedom of speech. Yet the concept of censorship as a means of ideological suppression of literary contents, applied through a state-sponsored authority, was known already to Plato, who endorsed censorship as a practice for his ideal state.² Censorship in this understanding could include the destruction and ban of books as well as any authoritative attempt to curb freedom of expression in writing, public speech or teaching, particularly by coercion (for example, by expulsion).

The important study on book burning and censorship in antiquity by Speyer constructs a straight line from the legislation on book burning in imperial times to the Christian period in Late Antiquity, going so far as to compare the religious repression of the Greek city-states to that of the

¹ Assmann & Assmann (1987).

² Plat., *Rep.* 2.377b-c; 3.386a-389a; 3.397e-401d; 10.603a-c; 10.607a-c; Plat., *Leg.* 2.656c; 7.801c-d; 12.967c; Diog. Laert. 9.40: anecdotal story about Plato allegedly proposing to burn the writings of Democritus. And see Naddaff (2002).

Roman Catholic Inquisition.³ Speyer concluded that book burning was traditional long-standing practice of the Romans: every now and then books were burned, because of Roman “religiöse Ängstlichkeit”.⁴ Sarefield argued that book burning as a means of purification in Late Antiquity was an outgrowth from pre-Christian precedent under the Empire.⁵ I shall discuss the incidents of book burning and censorship during the Roman republic and early empire within a broader discourse of religious conflict, senatorial rivalries, social history and the text transmission of political literature, arguing that book burning was rare, often inefficient, and scarcely caused by religious conflicts or imperial authoritarian rule. Book burning may better be understood as an exceptional strategy with which senators dealt with interpersonal or political conflicts.

BOOK BURNING IN THE ROMAN REPUBLIC

Few historical records survive to document the early history of Rome. Writing in the age of Augustus, Livy attributed the lack of historical documents to the devastation of Rome by Celtic invaders in 387 BCE,⁶ but this is a construction after the events. The first codification of Roman law in the Twelve Tables of 451 already ruled the death penalty against both harmful magic and slander in a single clause.⁷ School-children in the days of Cicero learned these provisions by heart.⁸ The underlying principle of these archaic provisions was that of retaliation. Harmful magic or slander could destroy a targeted individual, or the individual’s reputation.

No such harsh legislation is known from the world of classical Greece. Plato’s endorsement of censorship for the ideal state does not mean that book burning and censorship played any significant role in the Greek city-states. On the contrary, although Old Comedy is full of slander and insult against contemporaries, there were hardly any legal attempts to curb this liberty in Athens in the fifth century BCE. Indeed, there were none at all if Aristophanes’ scholiast — who is the only writer to attest

³ Speyer (1981) 43, 54, 122.

⁴ Speyer (1981) 52.

⁵ Sarefield (2004); Sarefield (2006); Sarefield (2007); Herrin (2009).

⁶ Liv. 6.1.1-2. However, most temples-archives were not affected; Roberts (1918).

⁷ *Leg. XII tab.* 8.1 Crawford, esp. Cic., *Rep.* 4.10.12 = Aug., *Civ.* 2.9.

⁸ Cic., *Leg.* 2.4.9.

a slander case related to the Old Comedy — was misinformed.⁹ On the other hand, philosophers were occasionally expelled from Greek city-states if their teachings on the gods and the nature of the world seriously disagreed with the contemporary world view.¹⁰

An important context for Roman attitudes to ‘the other’ is the encounter with the Hellenic world. Roman literature was literally born in 240 BCE, when Livius Andronicus translated Homer’s *Odyssey* into Latin. As a citizen of the Greek colony of Tarentum, he represented the intersection between Greek and Latin culture. It is a commonplace that initially the old Roman aristocracy was reluctant to accept the literary culture of the Greek world. With the conquest of the East in the second century BCE Greek teachers of philosophy and grammar came to Rome, but were often not well received. Cato the Elder’s attitude may be stereotypical for the patrician branch of Roman senators: he suspected Greek scholars as a whole of conspiring among themselves to kill all Roman citizens.¹¹ But of course this is an extremist statement, and even Cato’s own attitudes towards Greek learning were ambiguous.¹²

A few decades later, Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus confirm the revolutionary potential of Greek learning from the other end of the political spectrum. Their mother Cornelia instructed the two brothers in Greek state theory, available in abundance in the Hellenistic world. Their popular politics gave rise to a century of crisis. The expansion of the empire to the south and east brought abundant streams of knowledge to Rome. Although Carthage was effectively obliterated in 146 BCE, the emperor Claudius (41–54 CE) was still able to write eight books on its history.¹³ Both Aemilius Paullus after his defeat of Perseus of Macedonia in 168 BCE and after the defeat of Mithridates of Pontus in 68 BCE Lucullus brought large quantities of books to Rome, or so Isidore of Seville

⁹ Schol. Aristoph., *Ach.* 67: enactment from 440/39–438/7; Schol. Aristoph., *Av.* 1297: enactment from c. 415; see Speyer (1981) 46–47. To be sure, slander charges (*dikê kakêgorias*) did exist in Athenian Law. As to the Hellenistic kingdoms of the east, Antioch IV Epiphanes ordered the books of the Old Testament to be burnt in Jerusalem in 168 BCE and ruled the capital punishment on owners of its copies. This event led to the Maccabean revolt: *1 Macc* 1.57–60. A ninth-century legendary Iranian tradition credits Alexander the Great with having destroyed the Avesta (the collection of Zoroastrian texts): On testimonials, Bailey (1943) 151–154. And see Speyer (1981) 50.

¹⁰ On such examples, Speyer (1981) 43–50.

¹¹ Plut., *Cato* 22–23; Plin., *Nat.* 29.6–8.

¹² See Gruen (1992).

¹³ Suet., *Claud.* 42.2. ‘Book’ roughly means the content of a papyrus roll; for example, Livy wrote 142 books *ab urbe condita*.

claimed in the seventh century.¹⁴ This general tendency gave Cicero the occasion, in his *opus magnum* “On the Republic”, to construct the origin of Roman elite scholarship into a circle gathered around Scipio the Younger, destroyer of Carthage and Numantia, who was by marriage and adoption a close relative of the Gracchi.¹⁵

The rise of Greek learning in the Roman world occasionally became the cause of conflict; or at least the Roman authorities reacted in a way that suggest underlying conflicts, however unknown to us. For the first time recorded, in 161 BCE, a *senatus consultum* was passed, initiated by the praetor of that year, which is often interpreted as the expulsion of rhetoricians and philosophers from the city of Rome.¹⁶ However, on a closer reading it appears that, although “they should not remain in Rome” the ban was valid only “in whatever way seemed to him [the praetor] in accord with the interests of the state and his oath of office”¹⁷. The enforcement was therefore in the discretion of the praetor of the year. The ancient authorities who mention the *SC* leave no doubt that it had long become obsolete in the early and high empire. Few cases of the expulsion of philosophers are known: During the consulate of L. Postumius, probably the second one in 155 BCE, the two Epicurean philosophers Philiskos and Alkios were expelled from Rome because they were seducing the youth to a life of pleasure. This coincides with the more general resentment specifically against Epicurean philosophers, who were also ejected from Messenia in southern Greece.¹⁸

Foreigners were occasionally expelled because of subversive teaching. In 139 BCE, the “*Chaldaei*” (Babylonian astrologers)¹⁹ “were ordered by edict to leave Rome and Italy within ten days”²⁰. Cramer is probably right that this measure was only a temporary one, for it was passed by the *praetor peregrinus* and his edicts terminated with the expiration of his tenure at the end of the year.²¹ Although Greek teachers had long become residents of Rome by that time, in 92 BCE, the censors passed an edict *de coercendis rhetoribus* (“on curbing the rhetoricians”).

¹⁴ Isid., *Orig.* 6.5.1.

¹⁵ Strasburger (1966); Zetzel (1972); Schmitter (1975).

¹⁶ Speyer (1981) 53; Robinson (2007) 102.

¹⁷ Suet., *De rhet.* 1 = Gell., *NA* 15.11.1: *uti ei e republica fideque sua videretur uti Romae ne essent.*

¹⁸ Athen. 12.574a; Ail., *Var.* 9.12.

¹⁹ On this meaning, Dt 1.4; 2.2.4; Diod. 2.29-31; Diog. Laert. 1.1.6; Hdt. 1.181,183.

²⁰ Val. Max. 1.3.3.

²¹ Cramer (1954) 235.

However, the edict was directed only against the recently founded school of “Latin rhetoricians” and it gave no clear sanctions against teachers or students.²²

Despite the ambiguous elite attitude towards Greek learning, in the Republican period books were burnt only in connection with religious conflicts. However, while the Roman state occasionally banned foreign religious groups, book burning was rarely performed. The first possible incident is linked to the invasion of Hannibal. In 213 BCE, the traditional religion of Rome was falling into disuse; instead, the citizens of Rome and the Italians who had fled to the city became attracted to “a low order of sacrificers and soothsayers”. On behalf of the senate, M. Atilius, *praetor urbanus*, declared in the assembly of the people that “all persons who had any books of divination, or forms of prayer, or any written system of sacrificing, should lay all the aforesaid books and writings before him before the calends of April”²³. Although Speyer thinks that books were destroyed at this occasion,²⁴ we just do not know whether anyone complied with this senate decree. Given that, according to Livy, the lower magistrates in charge of detaining criminals unsuccessfully attempted to remove a crowd of worshippers from the forum, the authority of the Roman state must have been quite limited at this time of external threat. Even if some books were actually surrendered, it is not firmly known that these books were destroyed.

In 186 BCE, the senate banned as a public threat the Bacchanalia, nocturnal rites imported to Rome from the Greek parts of southern Italy. Worshippers of this cult had tremendously grown in number and were increasingly associated with debaucheries, crimes and conspiracies.²⁵ Livy recounts a speech delivered by the consuls of that year, who argued

²² Gell., *NA* 15.11.2: “Therefore it seems necessary to make our opinion known, both to those who have such schools and to those who are in the habit of attending them, that they are displeasing to us”.

²³ Liv. 25.1.12: *is et in contione senatus consultum recitavit et edixit ut quicumque libros vaticinos precationesve aut artem sacrificandi conscriptam haberet eos libros omnes litterasque ad se ante kalendas Apriles deferret neu quis in publico sacrove loco novo aut externo ritu sacrificaret*. “He read the decree of the senate in an assembly, and also issued an edict that whoever had books of prophecies or prayers or a ritual of sacrifice set down in writing should bring all such books and writings to him before the first of April, and that no one should sacrifice in a public or consecrated place according to a strange or foreign rite.” (tr. Gardner Moore).

²⁴ Speyer (1981) 51.

²⁵ Liv. 39.8.3-4; 39.15: *pravis et externis religionibus*; See also Liv. 39.17.4-6; 39.18.5; 39.41.6-7; 40.19.9-11 with Robinson (2007) 7-29.

that it had long since been the customs of the ancestors, whenever the magistrates were in charge of banning a foreign religion, not only to bar its leaders from public places within the city but also to search out and burn “books of prophecies” in order to eradicate this foreign religion.²⁶

Speyer concluded from this speech that book burning was a traditional and frequent policy of the Roman state, but this is not well grounded.²⁷ In the speech of the consuls there is rhetoric of generalisation to recommend the decree to the senate. This rhetoric is common to Roman historiography. For example, the speech of C. Cassius, dated by Tacitus to 61 CE, also alludes repeatedly to the customs of the ancestors, whereas in fact Cassius had nothing else to refer to than the single *senatus consultum Silianum* from 10 CE.²⁸ Moreover, ancient historians have the habit of quoting speeches which are fictitious rather than based on historical sources.²⁹ Livy’s wording of the consuls’ speech in 186 is close to how Livy narrated the events of 213,³⁰ so it is likely that to Livy the former incident was the only precedent to the latter. At any rate, the speech attributed to 186 could be constructed to reflect Augustus’ religious policy, as we will see. It is doubtful whether or not books were actually burnt at either occasion.

The only firm attestation of book burning during the Republic dates to 181 BCE, recorded by various authors. This implies that this incident was startling.³¹ Allegedly the coffer of Numa Pompilius, legendary second king of Rome, who founded many institutions of the Roman religion in the late eighth and early seventh century BCE, was rediscovered along with two book collections (each consisting of the mystical number seven or twelve books). One collection contained pontifical law, the other

²⁶ Liv. 39.16.8: *quotiens hoc patrum avorumque aetate negotium est magistratibus datum, uti sacra externa fieri vetarent, sacrificulos vatesque foro circo urbe prohiberent, vaticinos libros conquirerent comburerentque, omnem disciplinam sacrificandi praeterquam more Romano abolerent*. “How often, in the times of our fathers and our grandfathers, has the task been assigned to the magistrates of forbidding the introduction of foreign cults, of excluding dabblers in sacrifices and fortune-tellers from the Forum, the Circus, and the City, of searching out and burning books of prophecies, and of annulling every system of sacrifice except that performed in the Roman way.” (tr. Sage).

²⁷ Cf. Speyer (1981) 52: “Aus der Rede der Konsuln bei Livius geht hervor, daß hierbei eine seit langem bestehende und öfter angewendete Verordnung eingeschärft wurde”.

²⁸ Tac., *Ann.* 14.43.1: *instituta et leges maiorum* vel sim. See Nörr (1983).

²⁹ See Woodman (1988).

³⁰ See notes 23 and 26.

³¹ Plin., *Nat.* 13.17.84-87 (referring to lost works of the second and first century BCE), Plut., *Numa* 22; Liv. 40.29; Aur. Vict. 3.2.

Pythagorean philosophy. Once again, the matter was discussed by the senate, and the *praetor urbanus*, Q. Petilius had these books burnt in the *comitium*, the place for public assemblies, under the eyes of the population.³²

The official reason was that these books were subversive of religion (Liv. 40.29.11: *pleraque dissolvendarum religionum*). Indeed, the context of the Bacchanalian affair had shown the seriousness of the alleged threat that the unwritten Roman tradition was contaminated with foreign influences considered to be potentially harmful. Throughout the Republic, the senate was in charge of expiating religious portents. The choice of place clearly indicates a consent ritual, staged as a ritual as the fire was supplied by the *victimarii*, priestly assistants in charge of sacrifices. The method of obliterating writings by fire is the most effective one, especially because papyrus was easily susceptible to fire. It is the method used most commonly in antiquity.

The ancient authorities do not doubt the authenticity of the documents found. However, Pliny the Elder (quoting Cassius Hemina, Roman historian of the second century BCE) was surprised that the texts, written on papyrus (*charta*), survived the 535 years that he calculated since the death of Numa.³³

The books of Numa were possibly a forgery. Modern scholars have put forward the view that contemporary Pythagorean philosophers had deliberately buried the books in order to link Pythagorean philosophy to the earliest Roman religious tradition.³⁴ Pythagoras (6th century BCE) is supposed to have lived and taught in the Greek colonies of southern Italy, from where his teachings could have reached Rome. In the fifth century, Pythagoreans were even persecuted in southern Italy.³⁵

Livy does not mention the chronological problem that Numa was supposed to have lived long before Pythagoras. To accept that Numa was acquainted with Pythagorean philosophy was to admit that Rome was not as old as the dubious reconstruction of its early history claimed it to be. Moreover, the implication that Roman religion borrowed from the Greek tradition was not in accordance with the interests of the Roman aristocracy. Elite Romans indeed discussed this question, as we can see

³² Val. Max. 1.1.12.

³³ Plin., *Nat.* 13.17.85.

³⁴ Willi (1998); Prowse (1964); Forbes (1936) 118.

³⁵ On testimonials, Honigsmann (1922) and Speyer (1981) 43-44.

in Cicero's "On the Republic", written a few decades before Livy.³⁶ Probably reproducing a discussion of his own days, Cicero here credits Scipio the Younger (185-129) with having refuted the alleged interdependence between Numa and Pythagoras. He draws on the "authority of the public annals" (priestly records from the early centuries) to show the chronological gap between Numa and Pythagoras.³⁷ Indirectly, however, Cicero admits that Rome, although first acquainted with the "abundant stream" of Greek disciplines and arts under the fourth king Ancus Marcius, may have come into contact with the Greek tradition even before that time, however, only as a "rill".³⁸ Besides the fact that Greek cities had colonies in Italy, Cicero's (and Livy's) construction of this cultural exchange is speculative only, as Cicero himself clearly admits.³⁹ Cicero wrote after the events; however, his is the oldest account on the books of Numa that is extant in direct transmission (not as a quotation by a later author).

Cicero does not mention that Numa's books were burnt. This is surprising because Cicero was interested in the subject of book burning: his is the earliest testimonial for book burning in classical Greece in that he mentions the case of Protagoras of Abderas (fifth century BCE). His books were allegedly burnt in the public assembly of Athens, because Protagoras put forward the agnostic view that there is no certainty about the existence of gods.⁴⁰

On the other hand, there are examples known of books unintentionally destroyed during wars. Ancient manuscripts attest the number of books destroyed when Caesar attacked Alexandria in varying figures: from 40,000 to 700,000.⁴¹ According to Cassius Dio, "storehouses of grain and books" ready for export were the only buildings destroyed when

³⁶ Cic., *Rep.* 2.15.29: *non esse nos transmarinis nec inportatis artibus eruditos, sed genuinis domesticisque virtutibus* "we got our culture, not by importing foreign expertise but through our own native qualities". Instead, Cicero argues that Rome first came in contact with Greek doctrines under the later king Ancus Marcius (Cic. *Rep.* 2.19.34).

³⁷ Cic., *Rep.* 2.15.28: *annalium publicorum auctoritate*.

³⁸ Cic., *Rep.* 2.19.34: *Influxit enim non tenuis quidam e Graecia rivulus in hanc urbem sed abundantissimus amnis illarum disciplinarum et artium*.

³⁹ Cic., *Rep.* 2.18.33: *sed temporum illorum tantum fere regum inlustrata sunt nomina*. "except in the case of kings, names at that period tended to be shrouded in darkness".

⁴⁰ Cic., *Nat.* 1.63; Diog. Laert. 9.51-52.

⁴¹ 40,000: Sen., *Tranq.* 9.5; Dio Cass. 42.38; 400,000: Oros. *Hist.*, 6.15.31; 700,000: Gell. 7.17.3; Amm. 22.16.13.

Caesar set the ships in the harbour area on fire.⁴² Alexandria continued to be the main supplier of book copies long after Caesar.⁴³ The legendary three original Sibylline books, acquired by king Tarquinius, burnt in the temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline hill in 83 BCE. Ancient authors speculated about whether or not the fire in the temple was deliberately laid during the civil war between Sulla and Marius;⁴⁴ however, there was surely no intent to destroy the Sibylline books. In a work now lost, Varro claimed that an unknown number of his works disappeared when his library was plundered in the proscriptions following Caesar's death. Gellius preserves this quotation from the introduction to the lost short biographies authored by Varro (*Hebdomades vel de imaginibus*) and Varro seems to be alluding primarily to this group of works.⁴⁵ Other incidents include documents from Heraclea in Lucania during the Social war (91-88);⁴⁶ documents containing financial assessments stored in the temple of the Nymphs on the Campus Martius, ignited by P. Clodius;⁴⁷ tablets of the tribunes of the people (containing Clodius' decrees against Cicero) destroyed by Cicero on the Capitoline hill in 56 BCE.⁴⁸ Finally, Julius Caesar burnt the letters of his defeated enemies, Pompey and Metellus Scipio, in order to grant amnesty to allies potentially mentioned in these documents.⁴⁹ None of these incidents involves books. On the other hand, censorship could be liable to legal punishment. One Athenodoros Kordylian of Tarsus, a Stoic philosopher and head of the library of Pergamon in the first century BCE, was put to trial after he attempted to delete certain passages of previous Stoic philosophers, which he regarded as erroneous.⁵⁰

In sum, evidence for deliberate book burning during the Roman republican period (and in the Greek world as well) is scanty. In republican

⁴² Sen., *Tranq.* 9.5; Cass. Dio 42.38; *quadraginta milia* ("40,000") is read in all extant manuscripts containing Seneca's text. The variation *quadringenta milia* is a modern emendation based on Orosius' text. See Reynolds (1977) ad locum.

⁴³ Suet., *Dom.* 20. And see El-Abbadi (1992) 156.

⁴⁴ App., *Civ.* 1.378, 191; Plut., *Poplicola* 15.1; Plut., *Sulla* 27.6; Dion. Hal., *Ant.* 4.62.5-6; Cic., *Cat.* 3.9; Sall., *Cat.* 47.2; Plin., *Nat.* 13.88; Tac., *Hist.* 3.72.1; Tac., *Ann.* 6.12.3; Solin. 2.16-7. See Speyer (1981), 17.

⁴⁵ Gell. 3.10.7: [Varro addit] *septuaginta hebdomadas librorum conscripsisse*.

⁴⁶ Cic., *Arch.* 8; M. Calidius in Quintum Gallium frg. 436 Malcovati = Nonius Marcellus, *De Compendiosa Doctrina*, vol. 1, p. 307 Lindsay.

⁴⁷ Cic., *Mil.* 73; *Cael.* 78.

⁴⁸ Plut., *Cic.* 34.1; Plut., *Cat. min.* 40.1; Cass. Dio 39.21.1.

⁴⁹ Plin., *Nat. Hist.* 7.25.94; Sen., *Ira* 2.23.4; Cass. Dio 43.13.2.

⁵⁰ Diog. Laert. 7.34.

Rome, prophetic books may have been burnt; but the consular speech given by Livy to support this view, is certainly fictitious and perhaps reflected Augustus' religious policy. The burning of the books allegedly written by Numa is well reported; although it was perhaps the historical rather than the religious implications that caused the senate to decide the destruction because accepting the Pythagorean influence on Numa would have meant refusing to date the foundation of Rome to the eighth century.

BOOK BURNING AND TREASON TRIALS IN THE EARLY EMPIRE

In a recent article, Rudich concluded that when the inherently authoritarian rule of the principate replaced the democratic polity of the Roman republic, "burning of books and harassment of their creators followed with depressing regularity".⁵¹ Previous discussions of book burning in the early Empire have argued similarly.⁵² Other scholars have focused our understanding of political dissidence in the first century CE. For example, in a landmark study, Bartsch suggested that, under the Julio-Claudian emperors and especially during the principate of Nero, the boundaries between the political, the theatrical and the literary stage became elusive. Political allusions in literary performances and writings often were constructed by the (senatorial) audience rather than intended by the author. This was a consequence of the political transformation during the principate, when it became undesirable, yet sometimes inevitable, to voice dissidence.⁵³

The role of book burning within the area of conflict management by the emperor or the elite classes has so far not fully been appreciated. According to modern conflict theories, people who feel treated undeservedly, for example, if they are passed over when running for offices against grossly inadequate, sycophantic competitors, tend to seek publicity primarily in writing with which to expose inconvenient insider knowledge. Interpersonal conflicts can be especially intense when reinforced by sexual jealousy and harassment. Managers often deal with

⁵¹ Rudich (2006) 24. And see Rudich (1997).

⁵² Speyer (1981) 57; Cramer (1945); Finley (1985).

⁵³ Bartsch (1995) 63-97, esp. 67: "the existence of a government that curtails free speech, the knowledge that libel has to be veiled, spurs audiences and readers to scrutinize texts and performances for meanings below the surface".

insolvable conflicts by removing the affected person from their publicity, for example, through relegation to an island or any other distant place as well as by withholding retaliatory writing, ideally approved by majority consent. These measures can be protective for the various parties involved. On the highest level of conflict, the individuals involved try to damage their adversaries without self-regard. I shall here discuss the incidents for book burning known from the early empire under the aspect of conflict management and the relationship of the emperor and the senate.

I

It is well known that at least some of the Julio-Claudian emperors acted ruthlessly against the authors of dissident writings. Suetonius in particular describes an atmosphere of terror in the last years of Tiberius:

Every crime was treated as a capital offence, even when it was just a matter of a few simple words. A poet [Mamercus Aemilius Scaurus] was prosecuted for including criticisms of Agamemnon in a tragedy, a historian [Cremutius Cordus] for describing Brutus and Cassius as the last of the Romans. Authors were attacked and books banned, even though some years previously they had been well received by audiences which had included the emperor Augustus.⁵⁴

Suetonius wrote in the early second century, at a time when it was fashionable to refer to many Julio-Claudian emperors in a negative way. But his criticism should not be misunderstood as reflecting a general policy to destroy the books of dissident authors. The two senators to whom Suetonius alludes — without mentioning their names — are the only two persons known whose books were destroyed at that time; if many more other cases had been known, Suetonius (or Tacitus or Cassius Dio) would likely have mentioned these. On the contrary, Suetonius himself elsewhere stated that Tiberius initially proclaimed the value of freedom of speech; he left it to the senate to prosecute slander charges.⁵⁵

The legal basis for the underlying accusations was the *crimen maiestatis* (treason; literally “crime against the majesty of the emperor or *res publica*”).⁵⁶ While the *crimen maiestatis* had existed in the republican

⁵⁴ Suet., *Tib.* 61.3.

⁵⁵ Suet., *Tib.* 28.

⁵⁶ Tac., *Ann.* 1.72.2-4.

period, under the Julio-Claudian emperors it became a tool to prevent anyone from the senatorial class downwards from dissidence publicly displayed against the emperor and his family.

Much has been written about *crimen maiestatis*, its legal background, historical development and underlying reasons.⁵⁷ Members of the upper strata of society in the first century CE were frequently charged with this crime. Suetonius mentions that the emperor Claudius (41-54) alone approved of the execution of 35 senators and more than 300 equestrians.⁵⁸ Acts that were surprisingly petty could theoretically be regarded as treason; for example, carrying a coin showing the emperor's image in public toilets or in brothels,⁵⁹ or selling hot water.⁶⁰

However, the ancient historiographers, like Suetonius, often give a sensationalist account and tend to exaggerate the cruelty of treason charges with a view to their contemporary senatorial audience which idealised the suffering of their ancestors. On the other hand, criticism of the imperial family and political allusions in historiography, drama and other literary genres — or rather the fact that the audience understood certain lines as dissidence — very frequently constituted one out of many accusations which summed up to a treason charge, often along with magic accusations.⁶¹ This corresponds to the Law of the Twelve Tables putting slander alongside harmful magic. Some ancient authors indicate that rivalries and power struggles were the underlying reasons why senators and equestrians denounced and accused each other of *maiestas*.⁶² The senatorial career path, culminating in the office of consul (ideally at the beginning of the year, so that the year was named after the

⁵⁷ See Bauman (1967) 171-292; Bauman (1974) 53-59; Giovannini (1987); Rudich (1993); Rutledge (2001); further literature in Krause e.a. (1998) II 554-555.

⁵⁸ Suet., *Claud.* 29.2.

⁵⁹ Suet., *Tib.* 58.

⁶⁰ Cass. Dio 59.11.6.

⁶¹ Authors were often punished for dissidence or slander in the first century CE: Tac., *Ann.* 3.49; 6.9.2; 6.39.1; 14.48-49; 16.14; 16.28-29; 16.33; Tac., *Hist.* 4.44; Suet., *Aug.* 51; 56; Suet., *Tib.* 66; Suet., *Cal.* 20; 27.4; Suet., *Nero* 39; Suet., *Vit.* 14.4; Suet., *Dom.* 10; Suet., *De rhet.* 30.5; Cass. Dio 57.20.3; 57.22.5; 58.24.3-4; 59.19.7-8; 59.20.6; 67.12.3-13.3. See also Tac., *Ann.* 4.31.1; 16.29.2; Sen., *Suas.* 2.21; Sen., *Tranq.* 14.4-10; in Judaea: Jos., *Ant. Iud.* 20.115; Jos., *Bell. Iud.* 2.229. See Speyer (1981) 64-70; Eich (2000) 294-349, esp. 299-306. On case studies, Rogers (1960). Alleged exile of Juvenal under Domitian: *Vita Iuv.* 5 (p. 1, Wessner); *Schol. in. Iuven. vetust.* 1.1; 4.37.4; 7.92 (p. 2, 56, 126 Wessner); Joh. Malal., *Chron.* 10; Suid., s.v. Iuvenalios 2, 640-641 Adler; examples for allusions to the emperor in writing: Suet., *Tib.* 59; *Claud.* 38.3; *Dom.* 14.2.

⁶² Hor., *Ser.* 1.16.36-38; Cass. Dio 59.1.1-2; 59.16.2-3; Tac., *Ann.* 6.29.3-4. And see Winterling (2003).

consul) became narrower as more people were admitted to the senate under the principate.

The case of Cremutius Cordus, to whom Suetonius alludes in the above quotation, is the best known incident of book burning in the early Empire. Nothing is known about his political career, which means that he was perhaps unsuccessful in running for offices and may have felt that he had little to lose. Tacitus says that his case was without precedent: in 25 CE, “Cremutius Cordus was arraigned on a charge which was new and heard only then for the first time — that, having published annals and praised M. Brutus, he had spoken of C. Cassius as the last of the Romans.”⁶³ Tacitus adds that the machinations of Sejanus, prefect of the Praetorian Guard, were the reason behind the accusation. Revealingly, Tacitus does not mention that Cremutius Cordus had publicly insulted Sejanus. Seneca the Younger is the only source to attest that Cremutius Cordus exclaimed that Sejanus’ statue defiled the theatre of Pompey.⁶⁴ In his (fictitious) speech of defence,⁶⁵ Cremutius Cordus argued that up to the age of Augustus the Roman state had always respected liberty of speech; Livy, for example, was a friend of Augustus’, despite his bias for Pompey.⁶⁶ Ovid too claims that even Augustus’ enemies in the civil war, such as Antony and Brutus, were commonly studied and openly kept in public libraries.⁶⁷ Taking into account the other book bans of the early empire (as we will see), those who have suggested that other accusations contributed to the trial against Cremutius Cordus are, I think, more right than those who argued to the contrary.⁶⁸

Nor was the passage quoted by Tacitus the only one that caused offence, as Quintilian implies.⁶⁹ Rather, the only fragment known from the history work of Cremutius Cordus about the principate of Augustus indicates its critical thrust: “Cremutius Cordus writes that no member of the senate was allowed to approach him unless on his own and once his

⁶³ Tac., *Ann.* 4.34.1 (tr. Woodman, here and following).

⁶⁴ Sen., *Ad Marc.* 22.4; cf. Cass. Dio 24.2.

⁶⁵ On this speech, McHugh (2004).

⁶⁶ Tac., *Ann.* 4.34.2-35.3.

⁶⁷ Ov., *Pont.* 1.1.23-4.

⁶⁸ Gelzer (1917) 516-517; Syme (1958) II 517; Contra: Steidle (1965) 105-114; Bauman (1974), 99-104; Tränkle (1980) 231-232.

⁶⁹ Quint., *Inst.* 10.1.104.

toga had been searched.”⁷⁰ Suetonius, the authority for this fragment, almost never names his sources. The fact that he does mention Cremutius Cordus suggests that his authorship was exceptionally important. Indeed, the line comes close to revealing a state secret, with the implication that it threatened the life of the emperor. In context, Augustus presides over the *lectio senatus*, that is the session for admission to the senate, where Augustus needed to turn away many candidates. Candidates with uncertain prospects could use this information to conceal weapons. Especially during his late principate, Tiberius was paranoid about potential — or actual — assassination attempts. He could easily have regarded passages like this as treason.

Cremutius Cordus committed suicide by starvation to prevent condemnation after he failed to convince the senate.⁷¹ Despite Seneca’s subtle justification of Cremutius’ decision, senators accused of treason normally committed suicide out of practical reasons, to avoid property confiscation and public desecration of their corpse on the Gemonian Stairs (this was a fate that later fell on his enemy Sejanus).⁷² Cremutius Cordus had a daughter who would have lost the family wealth. In cases of slanderous writings, imperial law (preserved in the *Digesta* but based on Ulpian) explicitly waived the author’s ability to make a will; although at least in cases of slanderous epigrams and oral delivery the senate needed to pass a *senatus consultum*.⁷³

Was it possible to locate all copies of the history work in the Roman Empire? The senate decreed that his books were to be burnt by the *aediles*, annual magistrates elected from the senatorial order. During the principate, these *aediles* controlled and policed public buildings and spectacles within the city of Rome. Books in public buildings were probably burnt but the jurisdictional authority of the *aediles* did not pertain to private households. Order was given not only in the city of Rome but also to the magistrates (*archontes*) of each place that any copy found there was to be thrown in the fire. A “large part of these” was destroyed. However, the historian’s daughter Marcia and others preserved copies.⁷⁴

⁷⁰ Suet., *Aug.* 35.2 (transl. Edwards, here and following) = frg. 4 Peter. The fragment is related to the *lectio senatus* of either 29 or 18 BCE. Tränkle (1980) favours the latter date.

⁷¹ Sen., *Ad Marc.* 22.6-7; Tac., *Ann.* 4.35.4.

⁷² This frequently happened under Tiberius: Tac., *Ann.* 5.9; 6.19.2-3; 6.25.3; 6.29.1; Suet., *Tib.* 61.4; Cass. Dio 58.1.3. And see Barry (2008).

⁷³ *Dig.* 47.10.5.9-10.

⁷⁴ Cass. Dio 57.24.4; Sen., *Ad Marc.* 1.3: *magna illorum pars arserat*.

There is no evidence that authorities had houses searched; it is unlikely that owners of private copies had to fear punishment, even in theory. Seneca, Tacitus and Cassius Dio all agree that this incident, far from causing the loss of Cremutius' works, in fact contributed to their popularity as early as perhaps in the later years of Tiberius.⁷⁵

It was among Caligula's first administrative acts in 37 CE that Cremutius' works were located, circulated, and read.⁷⁶ This was part of Caligula's strategy in his early reign, to take every step necessary to prove himself to be a leader different from Tiberius, who had been despised increasingly for his cruelty in his last years. Half a century later, Quintilian added Cremutius Cordus among his list of Latin authors that he recommended students of rhetoric to read because of his liberty of speech. However, in recent editions of Cremutius' work those parts that had caused the author's death were omitted.⁷⁷ Yet, Quintilian does not imply that these passages were omitted because of state censorship. The omission could well have been a private decision, possibly by the daughter of Cremutius Cordus. Even in the modern world self-censorship based on assumptions about what governments are likely to find unacceptable is very common.

Vergil's *Georgica* is the only other case, of suppression of certain passages on political grounds, known from the Early Empire. Vergil's commentator Servius attests that this book originally contained a praise of Cornelius Gallus, famous poet of the Augustan age. Gallus, however, was forced into suicide after he had fallen out of Augustus' good graces.⁷⁸ Augustus, himself a sponsor of Vergil, ordered the poet to revise the passages related to Gallus.⁷⁹ We cannot say exactly when the *laudes Galli* got lost, although Servius still mentions this text at the end of the fourth century CE. Curiatius Maternus, on the other hand, refused to make any changes in the publication of his Cato-tragedy after

⁷⁵ Tac., *Ann.* 4.35.4-5: "But they survived, having been concealed and published. Wherefore it is pleasant to deride all the more the insensibility of those who, by virtue of their present powerfulness, believe that the memory even of a subsequent age too can be extinguished. On the contrary, the influence of punished talents swells, nor have foreign kings, or those who have resorted to the same savagery, accomplished anything except disrepute for themselves and for their victims glory."; Sen., *Ad Marc.* 1.3-4. Seneca's *Ad Marcianum* is usually dated to c. 40 CE. On a date earlier, between 33 and 37, after the downfall of Sejanus, Bellemore (1992).

⁷⁶ Suet., *Cal.* 16.1.

⁷⁷ Quint., *Inst.* 10.1.104.

⁷⁸ Suet., *Aug.* 66.2; Cass. Dio 53.23.6-24.1.

⁷⁹ Serv., *Ecl.* 10.1.

its public reading was offensive to certain senators.⁸⁰ His prosopographical identity is unknown; according to Tacitus he had by then dedicated his life to poetry,⁸¹ implying that he was no longer pursuing a political career.

Dangerous, slanderous content of literature can sometimes even be understood as a deliberate writing strategy with which to be competitive in a tough market of oratory. In the first century, some senators may well have been concerned with their literary fame rather than their political success. This seems to be the case with Titus Labienus, whose reputation was restored by Caligula along with that of Cremutius Cordus and Cassius Severus. Nothing is known about Labienus' career. Yet, he frequently criticised senators and equestrians, "savaged all ranks and men alike" and so earned himself the nickname Rabienus (from *rabies*: "rage"). He also may have caused the anger of the old Augustus because he published a historical work in favour of Pompey, Caesar's adversary.⁸² However, those who felt slandered by Titus Labienus, rather than Augustus himself, initiated a *senatus consultum*. Indeed his enemies were powerful friends of Augustus, such as Maecenas, the sponsor of poets, and the historian Asinius Pollio.⁸³ According to this *senatus consultum*, all of his books were to be burnt. Seneca the Elder calls this a punishment both new and rare.⁸⁴ As with Cremutius Cordus and so many other senators of the first century, Labienus committed suicide allegedly as a question of honour.⁸⁵ However, Quintilian refers to him twice as a popular author of his age.⁸⁶ This again indicates that book burning only contributed to the fame of their author. Seneca the Elder adds that people at that time burnt the writings of his unnamed accuser rather than the books by Labienus himself.⁸⁷ In fact, Labienus anti-

⁸⁰ Tac., *Dial.* 2.1-3.3.

⁸¹ Tac., *Dial.* 2.3.4. See Cameron (1967).

⁸² Sen., *Contr.* 10, pr. 5; 10.3.5; 10.3.15; his excessive use of *libertas dicendi* is attested further in 10.2.19; 10.4.17-18; cf. 10.4.24-5.

⁸³ Sen., *Contr.* 10, pr. 8; Quint., *Inst.* 9.3.13.

⁸⁴ Sen., *Contr.* 10, pr. 4-5, 8, esp. 5: "It was for him that there was first devised a new punishment: his enemies saw to it that all his books were burnt. It was an unheard of novelty (*res nova et invisitata*) that punishment should be exacted from literature" (tr. Winterbottom).

⁸⁵ Hennig (1973) 252-253 is probably right to say that Labienus wanted to avoid confiscation of property and denial of an appropriate burial.

⁸⁶ Quint., *Inst.* 1.5.8 (alongside Gallus); 4.1.11.

⁸⁷ Sen., *Contr.* 10, pr. 7: "The man who had pronounced this judgement on Labienus' writings lived to see his own writings burnt: no longer an evil penalty, once it became *his*".

culated that the most problematic passages of his history book would become most popular only after his death.⁸⁸

Cassius Severus, the last on Suetonius' list of authors restored by Caligula, was among the most famous orators in Augustus' age. He was of low social origin and led a dissolute life-style; despite his rhetorical talent, he is not known to have achieved any offices.⁸⁹ In Late Antiquity, he even was proverbial for unsuccessfulness.⁹⁰ Perhaps out of frustration, like Labienus, Cassius "defamed men and women of distinction in his insulting satires"⁹¹ and came to be known for personal delight in accusations.⁹² Conversely, his aggressive behaviour may have caused his unsuccessfulness. Augustus charged him under an otherwise unknown *lex de famosis libellis* ("law on slanderous writings").⁹³ This indicates that Augustus did not seek a formal *senatus consultum*. While *leges* technically continued to be approved by the assembly of the people, this approval became a mere formality.

Because of continuous slander, Cassius was punished with exile to Crete probably in 12 CE and again with confiscation of his property and further relegation to the tiny, uninhabited island of Seriphos under Tiberius. There he ended his life in misery.⁹⁴ Unlike in the other two cases, it is not firmly attested that his writings were destroyed, although Augustus, as we will see, ordered the burning of *famosi libelli* in the same year. Only Suetonius refers to the writings of all three authors as "banned by senatorial decree" (*scripta senatus consultis abolita*).⁹⁵ It is well possible though, that Cassius Severus is identical with Labienus' unnamed accuser, whose books were burnt according to Seneca the Elder; at least he was among Labienus' enemies as well as among his admirers.⁹⁶ Perhaps jealousy played a role in the accusation. Cassius Severus is the only senator known whose books were burnt at that time. As with Labienus and Cremutius Cordus, the burning of his book did not

⁸⁸ Sen., *Contr.* 10, pr. 8.

⁸⁹ Tac., *Ann.* 4.21.3: *sordidae originis, maleficae vitae*. See Winterbottom (1964) 90-97.

⁹⁰ Macr., *Sat.* 2.4.9.

⁹¹ Tac., *Ann.* 1.72.3.

⁹² Quint., *Inst.* 11.1.57; cf. Sen., *Contr.* 3, pr. 5.

⁹³ Tac., *Ann.* 1.72.3. The law was perhaps based on the *lex Cornelia de iniuriis* (preserved in *Dig.* 47.10.5.8-10), see Smith (1951).

⁹⁴ Tac., *Ann.* 4.21.3. On the date, Cass. Dio 56.27.1 with Hennig (1973), 246, note 6.

⁹⁵ Sen., *Cal.* 16.1.

⁹⁶ Sen., *Contr.* 10, pr. 8.

damage Cassius Severus' reputation as an author; but again his reputation as a slanderous author made Cassius Severus famous because many later writers, from Seneca the Elder to Macrobius (fifth century), continued to mention him.⁹⁷

We have seen that Suetonius ranks Mamercus Aemilius Scaurus alongside Cremutius Cordus as a prominent victim of censorship in the principate of Tiberius.⁹⁸ It is worthwhile to discuss this case too. Like Cassius Severus, Scaurus had the reputation of leading a dissolute lifestyle; his political career was based on his famous ancestry.⁹⁹ The striking similarity between both cases is the underlying machination of the Praetorian prefect; though Sejanus had meanwhile been replaced by Macro in this office. Suetonius is manipulative because Scaurus, like many other victims of treason charges, was accused of a long list of typical offences. This list included insult of Tiberius in 14 and an unspecified treason charge in 32.¹⁰⁰ Tiberius seems not to have taken the initial insult too seriously as Scaurus became suffect consul in 21. A year later, Scaurus charged C. Silanus, proconsul of Asiae with extortion,¹⁰¹ a possible cause for further conflict. Most importantly, Scaurus in 34 was suspected of adultery with Livilla, Tiberius' stepdaughter, whose potential offspring was of the greatest dynastic interest. In addition to this charge and the accusation of magic, Macro identified lines from an Atreus-tragedy written by Scaurus as offensive to Tiberius. Scaurus committed suicide to prevent condemnation.¹⁰²

Seneca the Elder is the only witness to report that seven speeches authored by Scaurus were burnt based on a *senatus consultum*. This seems to be unrelated to the offense against Tiberius. These speeches probably slandered senators because Seneca the Elder explicitly welcomes their destruction. As with both other cases of book burning known from the principate of the first two emperors, Seneca the Elder also attests that copies (*libelli*) of these speeches survive and that Scaurus now was a popular author, despite the ambiguous quality of his speeches.¹⁰³

⁹⁷ Sen., *Contr.* 3, pr. passim; 10, pr. 8; Plin., *Nat.* 7.12.55; Tac., *Dial.* 19; 26.4-6; Quint., *Inst.* 10.1.116-117; Suet. in Hier., *Ol.* 202.4 = frg. 69 Reifferscheid; Macr., *Sat.* 2.4.9.

⁹⁸ *PIR*² A 404; on the identification of Aemilius Scaurus with the unnamed poet in Suetonius, Lefèvre (1985) 1248, note 24.

⁹⁹ Sen., *Benef.* 4.31.3-5.

¹⁰⁰ Tac., *Ann.* 1.13.4; 6.9.3.

¹⁰¹ Tac., *Ann.* 3.66.1.

¹⁰² Tac., *Ann.* 6.29.3-4; Cass. Dio 58.24.3-5.

¹⁰³ Sen., *Contr.* 10, pr. 3.

No other incident of book-burning under the treason law is recorded from the principate of either Augustus or Tiberius. With the only exception of Scaurus, it was exactly these three authors known to be accused of dissidence in writing whom Caligula rehabilitated in 37 CE. This indicates that our evidence of official book burning is complete for this time period.

Yet Suetonius does not mention Ovid's name among the authors whose memories were restored by Caligula. This is not surprising. On the one hand, Ovid did not enter a public career and was therefore of little relevance to the ancient historians. On the other, it is doubtful whether there was any public ban on any of Ovid's writing in effect when Caligula became emperor in 37 CE. Many scholars have speculated about the reasons of why Ovid was relegated to far-off Tomis at the Black Sea in 8 CE.¹⁰⁴ There is general agreement that Ovid was relegated because of two unspecific reasons which Ovid himself gives as *carmen et error*.¹⁰⁵

Carmen (poem) refers to Ovid's lascivious *Art of Love*, written some years before the exile. Although Augustus attempted to raise the moral standards of the Roman society by legislation, it is unlikely that a love poem alone could constitute a crime liable to exile. Rather, Ovid had knowledge of a conspiracy or illicit love affair within Augustus' family, to which he alludes as *error*, and so fell out of Augustus' good graces. He could even have been personally involved in the affair because Augustus' granddaughter Julia was banished to an island in the same year. The combination of these two possible charges brings Ovid close to Scaurus, who was condemned by Tiberius also because of both his poetry and his alleged love-life. Ovid claims at length that no Greek or Roman poet had suffered the punishment of exile because of love poetry ever before.¹⁰⁶

Like the other early imperial authors commenting on censorship, Ovid also claims that his case was unprecedented: his poem was the only literary work that was banned from Rome's public libraries.¹⁰⁷ Yet Augustus, rather than removing a text from public access, likely felt personally offended that Ovid, who may have been rumoured to be the lover of the emperor's granddaughter, was represented by a sexually

¹⁰⁴ Norwood (1963); Thibault (1964); Green (1982); Goold (1983); Knox (2004).

¹⁰⁵ Ov., *Trist.* 2.207; cf. 5.12.61-68; *Epit. de Caes.* 1.24.

¹⁰⁶ Ov., *Trist.* 2.361-578.

¹⁰⁷ Ov., *Trist.* 3.1.59-72, esp. 63-64; 3.14.1-6; *Pont.* 1.1.5-14: the *Tristia*-books, rather than all of Ovid's books, are worried that they are not accepted in libraries.

explicit book in the Palatine library, founded by Augustus himself. It is unlikely that other books from Ovid's prolific oeuvre were barred from the Palatine library.¹⁰⁸ Augustus was perhaps worried that one of the sexually explicit passages could be associated with Julia by an overly curious audience, an interpretation which would have caused embarrassment.

Ovid too was sure that Augustus' verdict did not negatively affect the circulation of his poems among the population because he was a popular writer.¹⁰⁹ It is striking that most of the extant Roman love-elegies were written in the age of Augustus (Cornelius Gallus, Tibullus, Propertius). This is in contradiction to Ovid's hope of eternal afterlife, provided he was given the honour that his books were shelved in Rome's public libraries.¹¹⁰ Perhaps the ban of Ovid's poem was too petty even to be known to the historians, as it was a private decision by Augustus; unlike the later (unprecedented) case of Cremutius Cordus, it had no impact on the public and did not require an official *senatus consultum*.

Although both Tacitus and Seneca the Elder emphasise that book burning during the principate of Tiberius was unprecedented, neither puts the burning of senatorial works alongside the actual first incident of book burning in the empire, although it was certainly known to them. Probably in 12 BCE,¹¹¹ Augustus, who was recently elected as *pontifex maximus*, "collected from all over and burned whatever works in Greek or Latin were popularly supposed, on the basis of no or unreliable authority, to be prophetic [*fatidici libri*] (there were more than two thousand of them). He kept only the Sibylline books, even from these making a selection".¹¹² Although Augustus acted out of his religious authority, the Sibylline books were of political importance. Augustus as the first emperor here exercised his religious monopoly as to predicting the fate of the empire. These predictions were closely connected to the success of his principate.

This coincides with Augustus' edict in 11 CE to ban predictions on a person's death with a view specifically to the imperial family.¹¹³ He was

¹⁰⁸ Ov., *Trist.* 1.1.106-110; 3.14.1-9, esp. 9: "Exile was decreed for me, not for my books".

¹⁰⁹ Ov., *Trist.* 1.1.17-24, 69-70, 87-88; 3.1.81-82.

¹¹⁰ Ov., *Trist.* 3.1.59-82; *Met.* 15.871-879. See Horsfall (1993) 62.

¹¹¹ Date according to Scheid (2005) 191.

¹¹² Suet., *Aug.* 31.1. cf. Tac., *Ann.* 6.12.2; Cass. Dio 54.17.2.

¹¹³ Cass. Dio 56.25.5. Suet., *Aug.* 55-56.1 (*edicto*) probably refers to the same event.

apparently worried that the prediction of the death of a member of the imperial family could give way not only to harmful rumours but also to conspiracies. Similarly in 12 CE, Augustus ordered to destroy defamatory pamphlets written against “certain people”. This was in the interest of the people who felt slandered but also in the interest of the state because apparently pamphlets were posted to call for a revolution. Just as in the case of Cremutius Cordus, the *aediles* within Rome and the magistrates of each city were in charge of destroying these pamphlets.¹¹⁴

If Cassius Dio is right, then Tiberius, in the case of Cremutius Cordus, followed the precedent of Augustus in 12 CE, in that he mandated the *aediles* and magistrates of each city to search for the pamphlets. However, Cremutius Cordus wrote a history work rather than a pamphlet and the alleged offense was against the imperial dignity in itself rather than against high-ranking private people. This is probably why Tacitus mentions the case of Cremutius Cordus as unprecedented.¹¹⁵ Tacitus explicitly says that Augustus was deliberately tolerant towards literature containing reproaches against himself.¹¹⁶ Tacitus himself was a historian and the case of Cremutius Cordus was therefore important for him because Domitian similarly punished the authors of dissident histories in Tacitus’ own lifetime.

In fact, Tiberius was close to Augustus also in dealing with inconvenient prophetic literature and astrology: when he was informed that a prediction circulated on an upcoming civil war, Tiberius took this as the occasion to make “an investigation of all the books that contained any prophecies, rejecting some as worthless and retaining others as genuine.” (τὰ μὲν ὡς οὐδενὸς ἄξια ἀπέκρινε τὰ δὲ ἐνέκρινε).¹¹⁷

The first Roman emperors expelled astrologers to react to political trials, with the approval of the senate, but no books were known to be burnt. In 33 BCE, Agrippa, Augustus’ friend and ally, ordered foreign astrologers and sorcerers to be expelled from the city of Rome.

¹¹⁴ Cass. Dio 56.27.1 (with 55.27.1-2). Cassius Dio uses the Greek term ἀγορανόμοι for *aediles* both here and in the case of Cremutius Cordus (57.24.4). Martyr acts use the same term for provincial magistrates in charge of searching for and destroying Christian books in Thessalonica during the Great Persecution in 304: *Pass. Agap. et soc.* 6 (Mсурillo, 290). See Speyer (1981) 65, note 119.

¹¹⁵ According to Martin & Woodman (1989) 177, however, Tacitus mentions the case of Cremutius Cordus as unprecedented, despite the precedent of Labienus, because he wrote history, whereas Labienus wrote oratory.

¹¹⁶ Tac., *Ann.* 4.34.5 (in the speech of Cremutius Cordus); cf. Cass. Dio 55.4.3.

¹¹⁷ Cass. Dio 57.18.5; cf. Tac., *Ann.* 6.12.1-3.

Apparently these astrologers and sorcerers from the east of the empire instigated the *plebs urbana* in favour of Antony and Cleopatra in Alexandria, shortly before the battle of Actium. Again, this act expired with Agrippa's tenure as *aedile* at the end of the year.¹¹⁸ Following the precedent of 139 BCE, Tiberius expelled astrologers (*mathematici*/ἀστρολόγοι) and sorcerers (*magi*/γόητες) from Italy in 16 CE, based on a *senatus consultum*.¹¹⁹ However, exemptions applied not only to Tiberius' personal court astrologers but probably also to those affiliated with accredited religious institutions. Tiberius himself strongly believed in astrology. The probable reason for the ban again was that he was worried that astrological predictions were directed against the imperial family.¹²⁰ Claudius had the same motive when he banished astrologers from Italy in 52 BCE.¹²¹ Both emperors reacted to acute political crises, the conspiracy of Libo Drusus and that of Furius Camillus Scribonianus respectively, and the expulsions were regional and temporary only. According to Tacitus, the *senatus consultum* passed during Claudius' reign was "frightening and ineffectual"¹²².

Some senators disapproved of book burning. It was probably during the principate of Caligula that Seneca the Elder attests that in the schools of rhetoric the topic of book burning was a popular assignment. He quotes contemporary orators who discussed the fictitious case of whether or not Cicero should have consented to burn his works in exchange for immunity by Antony, the triumvir, and so to save his own life. All contemporaries strongly disapproved of book burning and agreed that his works were more important than Cicero himself.¹²³ Scholars have interpreted this discussion as an indication that authors had to expect the annihilation of their writings.¹²⁴ However, the topics treated in rhetoric schools were reputed to be of an extremely unrealistic, ivory-tower nature.¹²⁵

¹¹⁸ Cass. Dio 49.43.5.

¹¹⁹ Tac., *Ann.* 2.32.3; Suet., *Tib.* 36; Cass. Dio 57.15.7-9. Ulp., *De officio proconsulis* 7 (= *Leg. Mos. et Rom. collatio* 15.2.1) is a late testimonial and the only one to give the impression that astrology was banned empire-wide. Cramer (1954) 238 is probably right that the phraseology used was, in fact, that of Ulpian's Christian excerptor.

¹²⁰ Tac., *Ann.* 4.17; cf. 2.69, 4.58; Firm. 2.30.6 generally on the dangers involved in disseminating information on the emperor's fate.

¹²¹ Tac. *Ann.* 12.52.3: *mathematici*; Cass. Dio 61.33.3b: ἀστρολόγοι.

¹²² Tac. *Ann.* 12.52.3.

¹²³ Sen., *Suas.* 7, esp. 10; and Quint., *Inst.* 3.8.46, too.

¹²⁴ Speyer (1981) 63; Cramer (1945) 173-175.

¹²⁵ Tac., *Dial.* 29, 35.

It was particularly in the milieu of the early-imperial rhetoric schools that oratory and literature were considered to be the pinnacle of career paths for the upper strata of society. With the transformation of the senate under Augustus as well as the new importance of the equestrian order for the imperial administration, higher education came to play a role, next to family affiliation and property, as the prerequisites of career paths within the elite. Cicero was the obvious precedent for this transformation. However, it is well known that late republican senatorial authors, such as Cicero and Sallust, wrote their most famous works only after the practical end of their political careers. To Roman senators, indulging in literature was often equivalent to personal failure.

II

Nor were there many other cases, of dissident books burnt by state authorities, after Tiberius' death. Nero in many ways acted like a tyrant; on the other hand, Suetonius could be right to say that Nero was not interested to identify authors that openly criticized him and even voted against overly harsh punishments in case the names of dissident authors were denounced.¹²⁶ However, Suetonius tends to compile his biographies from different sources and was here probably referring to Nero's early reign under the guide of his tutor Seneca.

Nero's policy changed after this first *quinquennium*. Lucan, author of the *Bellum Civile*, was prohibited from publishing any further, allegedly because the first three books of this poem had aroused Nero's jealousy (according to Tacitus),¹²⁷ but more likely because of their political content¹²⁸ — although Lucan had publicly recited an early version probably at the Neronia of 60 CE.¹²⁹ This shows that the topic of the civil war between Caesar and Pompey was not in itself a taboo under the Julio-Claudians, despite the fate of Cremutius Cordus. Yet Lucan must have been aware that his topic choice could easily be understood as provocation. It is not known that Lucan was punished in any other way before he participated in the Pisonian Conspiracy against Nero's life and was forced to commit suicide in 65 CE.

¹²⁶ Suet., *Nero* 39.2.

¹²⁷ Tac., *Ann.* 15.49.3.

¹²⁸ Leigh (1997) 1-3 argued for political reasons behind the ban. And see Bartsch (1997) 89-90 for a critical reading of the evidence.

¹²⁹ Suet., *Vita Lucani* 1; Vacca, *Vita Lucani*, ed. Braidotti (1972), p. 37-38.

One A. Didius Gallus Fabricius Veiento is the only known author whose books were burnt under Nero. The reason for this act again was slander against contemporary senators. Accordingly, it was a private accuser, rather than Nero himself, who initiated the accusation. Veiento wrote certain “codicils” (*codicilli*), in which he attacked senators and pontiffs. As with previous cases, other charges, such as trafficking with the senatorial career path, did apply. Veiento was not only exiled but also his defamatory libels were ordered to be burnt in 62 CE. Again, this ban did nothing to curb the circulation of the incriminated work. On the contrary, Tacitus wrote that these books were “collector’s items and much read so long as there was peril in their procurement; subsequently the license to hold them ensured their oblivion.”¹³⁰ Veiento was indeed recalled from exile. Previously without success, he became *consul suffectus* three times and achieved other honours after Nero’s death.¹³¹

The fear of Seneca the Younger, at the moment of his suicide, that his books could be destroyed if found by Nero, seems to be exaggerated.¹³² Indeed, his is the largest contribution to Latin philosophy that is extant today. So too are the *Bellum Civile* by Lucan as well as parts of the *Satyricon* by Petronius among the Latin works that survive until today. Both their authors were also forced to commit suicide as a consequence of their participation in the Pisonian conspiracy.¹³³ Even Seneca’s praise of the emperor Claudius and his powerful freedman Polybius are extant today (*Consolatio ad Polybium*), although Seneca came to suppress the circulation of this work out of shame:¹³⁴ he had written it during his exile in order to be recalled and thus this work contradicted the satirical attacks on Claudius which Seneca penned after the emperor’s death and the end of his exile.

Almost one and a half century after the event, Philostratus reports that Nero issued an imperial edict banning the public teaching of philosophy in Rome. Its authenticity, however, is doubtful, since the edict is not mentioned in any of the more contemporary sources.¹³⁵ Had Nero truly acted against writings on the basis of an imperial edict, then he would

¹³⁰ Tac., *Ann.* 14.50.

¹³¹ *CIL* XIII 7253; XVI 158; *AE* 1952.168; Plin., *Pan.* 58.1; *Epit. Caes.* 12.5; Iuv., *Sat.* 4.123-154; Schol. Iuv., *Sat.* 4.129.

¹³² Cass. Dio 62.2.25.

¹³³ On the chronology and relationship between these authors, Völker & Rohmann (2011).

¹³⁴ Cass. Dio 61.10.2.

¹³⁵ Philostr., *V. Ap.* 4.35, 47.

have broken tremendously with the policy of his predecessors who we have seen instead sought senatorial consent through a *senatus consultum* when applying censorship. In fact, many senators involved in the Pisonian conspiracy against Nero authored treatises on Stoic philosophy, and this group is therefore known as the “Stoic opposition”. It was the danger threatening the authors not their works that Pliny commemorated in one of his letter for the last years of Nero.¹³⁶ Philostratus contradicts the contemporary sources, in that Nero officially seems to have displayed tolerance vis-à-vis writings critical to the emperor; perhaps Philostratus was reinterpreting Nero’s reaction to the Pisonian conspiracy as a general ban on philosophy; or he generalised Suetonius’ remark that Nero banished a single Cynic philosopher who offended him in public.¹³⁷

III

After the death of Nero and the end of the Julio-Claudian dynasty, civil wars and various conflicts followed in 68/9 until the Flavian dynasty was eventually established. Vitellius, the short-living emperor of the turbulent year of 69 issued an edict on banning astrologers (*mathematici*) from Rome and Italy.¹³⁸ There were rumours that the principate of his successor Vespasian, the first Flavian, was destined to be as short as that of Vitellius. In order to stop these speculations, Vespasian renewed Vitellius’ edict against astrologers, however, excepting those that he personally consulted.¹³⁹ According to Cassius Dio, he allegedly directed a further edict against certain philosophers, barring them from the capital, while allowing pamphlets to circulate. However, this is not supported by Suetonius.¹⁴⁰ The account of Cassius Dio is untrustworthy as a third century discourse as much as the plea against atheists and philosophers in the fictitious speech of Maecenas to Augustus.¹⁴¹

From a senatorial perspective, the principate of the last Flavian, Domitian, was entirely the opposite to that of Vespasian and his well-loved successor Titus. Tacitus penned his historical books as a reaction to the renewed liberty after the tyranny of Domitian was halted

¹³⁶ Plin., *Epist.* 3.5.5: “this he [Pliny the Elder] wrote during Nero’s last years when the slavery of the times made it dangerous to write anything at all independent or inspired” (tr. Radice).

¹³⁷ Suet., *Nero* 39.3.

¹³⁸ Tac., *Hist.* 2.62.2; Suet., *Vit.* 14.4. Cass. Dio 64.1.4.

¹³⁹ Cass. Dio 65.9.2.

¹⁴⁰ Cass. Dio 65.13; 65.11.1; cf. Suet., *Vesp.* 13, 15.

¹⁴¹ Cass. Dio 52.35.6-36.3.

by assassination. In particular, he felt that Domitian, just as the old Tiberius, actively and quite programmatically suppressed the senators' liberty of speech in 93:

It is recorded that when Rusticus Arulenus extolled Thræsea Paetus, when Herennius Senecio extolled Helvidius Priscus, their praise became a capital offence, so that persecution fell not merely on the authors themselves but also on their books: the police (*triumviri*), in fact, were given the task of burning in the courtyard of the Forum the memorials of our noblest characters. They imagined, no doubt, that in those flames disappeared the voice of the people, the liberty of the Senate, the conscience of mankind; especially as the teachers of Philosophy also were expelled, and all decent behaviour exiled, in order that nowhere might anything of good report present itself to men's eyes. Assuredly we have given a signal proof of our submissiveness; and even as former generations witnessed the utmost excesses of liberty, so have we the extremes of slavery. The investigations of the secret police (*inquisitiones*) have deprived us even of the give and take of conversation. We should have lost memory itself as well as voice, had forgetfulness been as easy as silence. (Tac. *Agr.* 2, tr. Hutton/Ogilvie)

The *triumviri capitales* were a board of three minor magistrates. Similarly to the *aediles*, they had police function. They were in charge of executions. The ancient concept of liberty of speech (*libertas dicendi*) was an elite notion, referring to the quality of a free man (*liber*), which is why Tacitus criticises the restriction of this liberty as equivalent to slavery. Yet Tacitus seems to stretch it too far when insinuating that Domitian despoiled the senators for freedom of speech. Looking more closely he does not even say so, but rather he points to senatorial rivalries — however not explicitly — as the source of “inquisition”: senatorial *delatores* (“informers”) put forward accusations in order to foster their own careers. Domitian was the first emperor whose memory was officially condemned (*damnatio memoriae*) by the senate after his assassination. It was therefore opportune to write about Domitian in an overly derogatory way.

The later Cassius Dio tells us more about the circumstances surrounding both cases of censorship mentioned by Tacitus. According to Dio, Herennius Senecio was accused on political grounds. He achieved no office beyond the senatorial starting rank of *quaestor* (*PIR*² H 130). Q. Iunius Arulenus Rusticus, *consul suffectus* of 92 (*AE* 1949.23), was executed not only because he published the panegyric on Thræsea Paetus, the senatorial adversary of Nero and father in law of Helvidius

Priscus (whose literary praise contributed to Senecio's death); but also he suffered from the general rule to expel all philosophers from Rome and Italy.¹⁴² In the latter case, it is not firmly known that the incriminated work was destroyed on public order. Only in the case of Herennius Senecio there is parallel evidence that a *senatus consultum* ordered his panegyric on Helvidius Priscus to be burnt. Pliny, who reports about this, adds that Fannia, the daughter of Helvidius Priscus, rescued copies of the work.

Pliny excused the senate for having issued this decree "out of necessity and the general fear of this age".¹⁴³ This is an allusion to the *senatus consultum* on the expulsion of philosophers from Rome and perhaps from Italy. Although this decree was passed by the senate as well, Pliny blames the emperor for the decree. Other ancient authorities confirm that Domitian temporarily expelled philosophers from Rome and possibly from Italy.¹⁴⁴ Because of the condemnation of Domitian's memory, the ban of philosophers could not have lasted beyond his death in 96 CE.¹⁴⁵

Domitian, however, was far from ruling against philosophy *per se*. In fact, he renewed two of the city's libraries that were destroyed by a fire during the reign of either Titus or Nero and supplied them with new books.¹⁴⁶ Rather, the ban was caused by political reasons. Just as the senators involved in the Pisonian conspiracy against Nero, so too did oppositional senators under Domitian write treatises on Stoic philosophy. Suetonius remarks that Domitian ordered to destroy slanderous invectives that attacked distinguished men and women and that these invectives were circulating widely.¹⁴⁷ However, Suetonius does not quote any examples except for the case of the Greek historian Hermogenes of Tarsus. Not only was Hermogenes himself executed but also the copyists of his work crucified "because of some allusions in his

¹⁴² Cass. Dio 67.13.2; cf. Suet., *Dom.* 10.3 on the expulsion of philosophers; Tac., *Agr.* 45.1; Plin., *Epist.* 1.5.2-3; 5.1.8 on the executions.

¹⁴³ Plin., *Epist.* 7.19.5-6. Sherwin-White (1966) 425 thinks that Pliny himself could have been involved in the execution.

¹⁴⁴ Suet., *Dom.* 10.3; Plin., *Epist.* 3.11; Philostr., *V. Ap.* 7.3; Cass. Dio 67.13.2-3; Gell. 15.11.4-5; Lucian., *Peregr. Prot.* 18. Christian sources (which are probably misinformed) mention that both astrologers and philosophers were expelled: Hier., *Chronica*, s.a. 90/94 (*PL* 27.459); Georgius Syncellus, *Chronographia* P. 343 D = vol. 1, p. 650 Dindorf (Bonn, 1829); Suid., s.v. Δομετιανός.

¹⁴⁵ Philosophers were recalled: Plin., *Paneg.* 47.1.

¹⁴⁶ Suet., *Dom.* 20.

¹⁴⁷ Suet., *Dom.* 8.3.

‘History’”,¹⁴⁸ apparently in order to curb its circulation. Again we do not know whether or not circulating copies were destroyed in this specific case. As with previous cases, it was in the interest of the senators who felt slandered to prosecute offences in writing.

There is no evidence for treason charges involving book burning known from the second and third century up to the age of Diocletian (284-305). The emperors of the second century, in particular, programmatically broke with the policy of their predecessors.¹⁴⁹ However, Septimius Severus ordered searches for, and destructions of any books “containing something illicit”¹⁵⁰ from practically all sanctuaries in Egypt during his stay there from 199-200 CE.

Outside of the context of treason charges, there are only few attestations of book burning in the early empire:¹⁵¹ some authors wanted their products to be destroyed out of a feeling of insufficiency;¹⁵² or, very rarely, on political grounds, as did the Greek historian Timagenes, who burned his *Acta Caesaris Augusti* because he later came to hate Augustus.¹⁵³ Others have destroyed documents potentially harmful to their allies if found by their respective adversaries.¹⁵⁴ Moreover, their biographers report that both Caligula and Caracalla expressed their intention to burn or remove from all public libraries the works of certain authors. However, this likely was a slanderous allegation and certainly not implemented.¹⁵⁵ None of these cases can be counted among acts of actual, state-inflicted censorship.

¹⁴⁸ Suet., *Dom.* 10.1: *propter quasdam in historia figuras*.

¹⁴⁹ Speyer (1981) 74-75 refers only to Fronto’s wish to destroy a speech because of slanderous criticism. However, he did not do this as too many copies were already circulating: Front., *Ad Verum Imp.* 2.9.1 (130 Van den Hout, 1954), same as in *Ad Anton. Imp.* 3.4 (106 Van den Hout, 1954). This could be a literary topos.

¹⁵⁰ Cass. Dio 75.13.2: *τά τε βιβλία πάντα τὰ ἀπορρητόν τι ἔχοντα*; P. Yale inv. 299. See Bowman & Woolf (1996) 7.

¹⁵¹ Cf. Speyer (1981) 58-75.

¹⁵² See Speyer (1981) 92-96. Famous cases include Augustus’ tragedy *Ajax*, Vergil’s *Aeneis*, and Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* (Ov. *Trist.* 1.7.13-34).

¹⁵³ Sen., *Contr.* 10.5.22; Sen., *Ira* 3.23.4-8 = *FGrH* 88 T 2-3.

¹⁵⁴ Suet., *Cal.* 15.4; Cass. Dio 60.34.5; Suet., *Otho* 10.2; cf. Cass. Dio 59.16.3.

¹⁵⁵ Suet., *Cal.* 34.2: Caligula considered eradicating the poems of Homer, simply because he claimed the same authority as Plato in his books “On the state”. For the same reason, he allegedly wanted to remove the works of Vergil and Livy from all public libraries. This is perhaps a literary topos which is found also in the case of Caracalla, who allegedly intended to destroy Peripatetic writings (Cass. Dio 78.7.3).

RECEPTION IN LATE ANTIQUITY

There is no attestation for book burning in any of the sources that mention the expulsion of astrologers, magicians or even philosophers. We have seen that Tacitus doubted the effectiveness of expulsions. The repetition of similar expulsion edicts strongly suggests that the effects of any previous rule had become void. Astrologers were granted pardon when they were willing to abstain from further predictions.¹⁵⁶ This does not imply that they had to burn any books. Rather, the fact that the book burning law of 409 explicitly formulated the burning of books as a prerequisite for conversion to Christianity and legal amnesty in the case of *mathematici* — for the first time and without mentioning a precedent — implies that book burning was no traditional regulation.

Some scholars claimed that Roman state authorities often destroyed magical and astrological books in the early empire and even from the second century BCE onwards.¹⁵⁷ To my mind, this is unsubstantiated. Speyer, for example, based his conclusion entirely on a law on burning magical books, reproduced for the first time in the *Sententiae* which are probably misattributed to the famous jurist Iulius Paulus.¹⁵⁸ These legal opinions are traditionally supposed to have been written in the high Empire. This does not imply that book burning laws existed earlier. Recent research shows that these legal opinions were revised and published perhaps in the age of Diocletian. They were affirmed by Constantine and again in the Law of Citations from 426.¹⁵⁹ The passage gives an interpretation of the earlier *lex Cornelia de sicariis et veneficis* (Cornelian law on murderers and poisoners) from 82 BCE. We can only reconstruct the wording of this law from the attestations in later literary and

¹⁵⁶ Suet., *Tib.* 36; cf. Cass. Dio 57.15.8–9.

¹⁵⁷ Speyer (1981) 54: “In der Kaiserzeit wurden oftmals Zauberbücher, zu denen auch die astrologischen Schriften zählten, öffentlich verbrannt”. And see Pharr (1932) 280: “Legislation was repeatedly enacted, requiring the books of the soothsayers to be burned” with note 45: “Suet. *Aug.* 31; *Tib.* 36; *Vit.* 14”. However, the only case of book burning actually mentioned in these sources is Augustus’ burning the Sibylline books.

¹⁵⁸ Paul., *Sent.* 5.23.18: “No one is permitted to have books on the art of magic [*libros magicae artis*] in his possession. And with whom such are found will be deported to an island after his goods have been confiscated and these writings burned in public. Persons of humble rank will be executed. (For not only the practice but also the knowledge of this art is forbidden.)”

¹⁵⁹ *Cod. Theod.* 1.4.1; 1.4.3. On the history of the *Sententiae*, Liebs (1995).

legal sources.¹⁶⁰ It seems to have given way for later laws against religious deviance, including, as we have seen, the decrees against astrologers. However, there is nothing to suggest that it provided for the burning of books.

Nor does the state of material culture tell us much about book destruction in imperial times. The overall number of Greek Magical Papyri dating to before the third century CE is insignificantly low.¹⁶¹ Most Greek Magical Papyri date to Late Antiquity. Ironically, the bans of magic in the Christian period could have contributed to this find, as people were more likely to bury magical texts. Little does the find contribute to the question of whether or not the Roman state searched out and destroyed magical books because papyri are mostly from Egypt, and the ban of magicians in the first century pertained only to Rome or Italy.

As with the authors of the early empire, the pagan historian Aurelius Victor (no later than in early 360) holds that censorship and book burning so far have never damaged the incriminated author's reputation:

He [Septimius Severus] ordered the name of [the jurist] Salvius and his writings and achievements erased, but this was the one thing he could not accomplish. So great is the prestige of the learned arts that not even a violent disposition can harm the reputation of writers. Moreover a death of this kind glorifies them but makes the agents of the deed detestable, since all men, and especially later generations, consider that those talented individuals could not have been suppressed except through public villainy and madness. All good men must put their faith in this¹⁶² (Aur. Vict., *Caes.* 20.2-4; transl. Bird).

Perhaps Aurelius Victor in the second, aphoristic half of this passage was alluding to the religious policy of the Christian emperor Constantius II (337-361). Constantius is evidenced to have harassed philosophers, excluding them as advisers from his court. He even had philosophers and men of literature, who consulted temple oracles, accused of treason, tortured and executed.¹⁶³

¹⁶⁰ Cic., *Cluent.* 148-149; 151; *Dig.* 48.8.1; *Cod. Theod.* 9.15; *Apul., Apol.* 1-2; 26. See Rives (2003); Rives (2006).

¹⁶¹ Based on Betz' list of 81 papyri edited by Preisendanz (*Greek Magical Papyri*, xxiii-xxv), the following eight pieces date to before the third century: *PGM* XX (first century BCE); I (first century CE); LVII, LXXII (c. 100); XVIIb, XXXII, LXIX, LXXVII (second century CE) out of a total of 77 or 81 pieces.

¹⁶² Aur. Vict., *Caes.* 20.2-4; cf. SHA, *V. Sev.* 17.5.

¹⁶³ Amm. 19.12 (in Palestine, 359); Lib., *Or.* 62.8-10.

Nor were Christian authors of Late Antiquity aware that Roman state authorities searched out and destroyed books during the early empire. On the contrary, they regarded the burning of the books allegedly written by king Numa, in 181 BCE, as the most noteworthy case of book burning in the more distant past. Lactantius referred to this case under the impression that Christian books were recently burned during the Great Persecution in 303/4.¹⁶⁴ In his eschatological *City of God against the Pagans*, Augustine approved of the senate's decision to burn Numa's books,¹⁶⁵ but he also says that the Roman state in the past had never attempted to ban certain branches of philosophy.¹⁶⁶ Augustine had perhaps less personal knowledge of imperial Rome than we have today. Yet, if it would have appeared to him that the Roman state ever destroyed books on a large scale, he certainly would have mentioned it at this occasion.

CONCLUSION

Book burning, performed by state authorities, was very exceptional in both the world of the Greeks and during the Roman republic. Livy's fictitious speech of the consuls during the second Punic War was possibly a reflection, or justification, of the fact that Augustus canonised the Sibylline books. The senate burned Numa's books as an act of religious expiation. One problem, discussed later by Cicero, was that the find, if authentic, precluded the chronology of Rome's early history.

Emperors temporarily expelled astrologers, magicians and even philosophers not to suppress certain philosophical schools but on political grounds, to ward off dangerous rumours, riots and conspiracies. These acts were regionally limited. Insofar as members of the lower strata of society were affected by these expulsions, the extant sources show little concern that liberty of speech was potentially threatened. It is not attested that books were burnt in these contexts in the early empire.

Even during the peak of treason trials under the Julio-Claudian dynasty and the principate of Domitian, the overall number of reported incidents for book burning on public order is quite small. It is unlikely

¹⁶⁴ Lact., *Inst.* 1.22.6-8. Contemporary or nearly contemporary evidence for book burning during the Great Persecution: Lact., *Mort. pers.* pr. 1; 12; Eus., *H.E.* 8.2.1-5; Optat., *App.* 1.2-5, 2.4-5, 2.9, 3.1, 8.

¹⁶⁵ Aug., *Civ.* 7.34; Speyer (1981) 166.

¹⁶⁶ Aug., *Civ.* 18.41.2.

that more books were burnt because authors such as Tacitus and Seneca the Elder regarded book burning as an egregious act of tyranny that needed to be exposed in historical records. However, Tacitus famously regarded the historical works on the Julio-Claudian emperors during their life-times as “falsified through dread” and afterwards influenced by recent hatred. Contemporary authors, like Tacitus himself, refused to write on Augustus in detail because recent accounts, in accordance with the current imperial policy, were overly positive.¹⁶⁷ But this does not mean that historians or any other writers felt too intimidated to publish at all or had to be worried that their writings could be destroyed.

With respect to the ancestry of their potential audience, the historians of the early second century give the impression that some emperors in totalitarian manner ordered the destruction of dissident senatorial works. However, it was often more in the interest of senators who felt slandered than in that of the emperor that books were burnt on public order. To be suspected of dissidence could be devastating to members of the upper echelons of society in the first century, but the charge was usually accompanied with other accusations. This is well attested in the many treason trials detailed in early second century historiography. Senators (and equestrians) used accusations of dissidence in writing as a strategy to side-line or destroy rivals. The prosopographical evidence (however incomplete) indicates that less successful senators were more likely to slander distinguished people so that their books were burnt. Historians such as Tacitus and Suetonius generally tend to blame any interference into senatorial liberty on the emperors of the first century, whereas in fact the emperors quite regularly seem to have sought senatorial consent whenever books authored by senators were destroyed.

Sometimes emperors directly ordered the destruction of political pamphlets during a crisis, but whenever a dissident text was burnt, the senate needed to pass a *senatus consultum*. Public magistrates, such as the *aediles* and the *triumviri capitales* in the city of Rome, were in charge of carrying out the decree. Even if a book-burning decree was passed, it never caused the complete loss of the incriminated book. On the contrary, those books only became more popular, at least until the decree ceased to be in effect on the succession of the next emperor. Perhaps because of this reason, emperors preferred to ban the authors rather than their books.

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¹⁶⁷ Tac., *Ann.* 1.1.2-3. These historical works are lost to us.

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THE FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS OF OVID'S THIRD WIFE: A RECONSIDERATION*

Abstract: An analysis of the paternal, maternal, and prior marital relationships of Ovid's third wife, which are mentioned in Ovid's exilic poems, supports the hypothesis that Ovid's third wife was the daughter of Paullus Fabius Maximus, the niece of Ser. Sulpicius Rufus the poet, and the former wife of Pompeius Macer. Through marriage to his third wife, Ovid reinforced his connections to important literary, social, and political figures in Rome. These connections ultimately failed him when he tried to employ them in his efforts to ameliorate the conditions of his *relegatio*.

Ovid has left to posterity more information about his life and those around him, especially in his exilic elegies, the *Tristia* and the *Epistulae ex Ponto*, than any other poet writing during the lifetime of Augustus (22 September 63 BC–19 August AD 14)¹. Ovid is also responsible, however, for our limited knowledge of these family relationships because, by his own admission, he was unable or unwilling to identify fully members of his immediate and extended family². As the poems he wrote from Tomis indicate, Ovid's relationship with his third wife was the most important family relationship he had after his *relegatio*, and the view he provides of his marriage is one of the most extensive found in Roman literature. Yet, in comparison with recent investigations that have been undertaken for the famed female figures of Roman elegy such as Ovid's Corinna, Propertius' Cynthia, and Catullus' Lesbia, or historical women of the Late Republic and Early Empire such as Terentia, Tullia, Publilia, Livia, Cleopatra, and Julia Augusti, little work has been

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¹ Millar (1993) 1 distinguishes between Augustan literature, which would postdate 16 January 27 BC when Octavian (as Augustus is commonly known before this date) was granted the title Augustus, and Triumviral literature, which would precede this date. By Millar's definition, Ovid is the only true Augustan poet, not only in terms of chronology but also in terms of sentiment. The prose letters Ovid sent from Tomis, to which he refers in a poem addressed to Severus (*Pont.* 4.2.5-8), are not extant.

² Ovid mentions his parents, daughter, and three wives but does not give their names (*Tr.* 4.10.69-82), and he mentions his brother, without his name (*Tr.* 4.10.9-32). While most of the recipients of poems in the *Tristia* are deliberately unnamed, most of the recipients of poems in the *Epistulae ex Ponto* are named. In *Tr.* 3.4b.71-72, Ovid notes that his verse provides no hints about the identities of his unnamed recipients although in some poems (*Tr.* 1.5.1-8, *Tr.* 3.6.1, and *Tr.* 3.5.17-18) he does appear to provide hints for possible identities.

done to investigate the identity of Ovid's third wife³. A few scholars have considered portions of her lineage, but no one has brought together in a comprehensive way what might reasonably be said about her maternal, paternal, and prior marital relationship.

Ovid's poems from exile are, to be sure, literary creations of the imagination, but they must be seen and evaluated not only as elegiac poems that Ovid sent back to Rome to demonstrate his full and continuing capacity as a poet but also as poems that Ovid wrote in order to keep himself in the memory of those left behind, to maintain lines of communication between Rome and Tomis, and to encourage his third wife (and other correspondents) to secure a change in his place of *relegatio*⁴. To borrow from a statement made by the historian Cornelius Nepos (*Att.* 18.4), there is nothing more delightful (and, one might add, more instructive) than learning about others⁵. To establish the family relationships of Ovid's third wife more securely would, therefore, be reward enough. But another benefit could be derived from such an investigation. By exploring the family relationships of Ovid's third wife, we are able to situate Ovid more precisely within the wider family associations that drew him into the complex political and social maneuverings of his day.

THE PATERNAL RELATIONSHIP: MAXIMUS

If one is alert to what Ovid tells his reader openly and what he implies in the poems from exile, it is possible to suggest a much fuller view of the family relationships of Ovid's third wife than has heretofore been

³ Apuleius suggests that Cynthia is a pseudonym for Hostia and Lesbia for Clodia (*Apol.* 10.3); see also Green (1982) 33. For Corinna as the first wife, perhaps, of Ovid, see Green (1982) 22-25. For an analysis of the women of elegiac poetry, see Wyke (2002). For Clodia Metelli, see Skinner (2010); for Terentia, Tullia, and Publilia, see Treggiari (2007); for Livia, see Barrett (2002); for Cleopatra, see Roller (2010) and Schiff (2010); for Julia Augusti, see Fantham (2006). Ovid's third wife is absent from Vidén (1993).

⁴ Ovid exaggerates both the geographical and the cultural distance from Rome. See Millar (1993) 16, who notes that Tomis, although a frontier city, was a Greek city nonetheless. For the minority view that Ovid was not relegated to Tomis, see Fitton Brown (1985) 18-22. Following Green (2005) x and Green (1982) 44-48, I accept the reality of Ovid's *relegatio* to Tomis, on which see Ovid himself (*Tr.* 1.3.89-90 and *Pont.* 3.1.49-58).

⁵ Syme (1982) 69, n. 44 comments that the *honesta cupido* noted by Nepos "abated in the long sequel, with dire consequences for the understanding of Roman history".

presented⁶. In several poems from the *Epistulae ex Ponto*, Ovid mentions, by their *cognomina*, three men of prominence in Roman society who are related in some way to his third wife: Maximus, Rufus, and Macer. Because Ovid provides the most information about his third wife's connections to Maximus, more scholarly attention has been paid to this relationship. Maximus is likely Paullus Fabius Maximus, a friend and confidant of Augustus. The family of Paullus Fabius Maximus had patrician origins but a history notable, at times, for its variable fortunes⁷. Syme observed also that the Fabii, although prominent in the early Republic, were generally peculiar in all sorts of ways⁸. Such peculiarity is evident from the names of Paullus Fabius Maximus and his brother Africanus Fabius Maximus — their “exorbitant *praenomina*” advertised their descent from Aemilii (a solid claim) and Scipiones (a fraudulent claim)⁹. In the Late Republic, the father of Paullus Fabius Maximus, Q. Fabius Maximus, had successfully rebuilt the family's fame. The father achieved a suffect consulship in 45 BC, and his two sons gained ordinary consulships in 11 BC (Paullus Fabius Maximus) and 10 BC (Africanus Fabius Maximus). Their sister Fabia Paullina married M. Titius (suff. 31 BC), who had been an admiral in the fleet of Marcus Antonius (Mark Antony) in 32 BC before deserting Antony for Octavian. The elder brother, Paullus Fabius Maximus, was the more prominent of the two brothers¹⁰. He was notable for his eloquence, his military experience, and his achievements (which included being a consul, a proconsul,

⁶ Fredericks (1976) 141, following Pascal (1960) 3-11, notes that autobiography is a shaping of the past and a collusion between past and present. On acknowledging the autobiographical element in Ovid's exilic poems see Syme (1978) and Green (2005) xix-lv and notes; see also Green (1982) 60-65. See Tissol (2005) 97-112 for an analysis of Ovid's autobiographical mode in *Tr.* 1.7. For a brief discussion of literary biography, see Wimsatt & Beardsley (1946) 477. On not separating author from persona in ancient literature, which accords with ancient practice, see Clay (1998) 32 and 33-34; Mayer (2003) 66 and 68-70 on Ovid; Korenjak (2003); Volk (2005) 87 and 92, n. 29; and Davis (2006) 20. For opposition to viewing Ovid's poems from exile as autobiographical, see Holzberg (1997), who suggests that Ovid is merely playing games.

⁷ See Syme (1986) 403-420 and Syme (1978) 135-155. Two patrician houses rescued the family when it risked extinction — the Aemilii and the Servilii. See also Barchiesi (1997) 144-152.

⁸ Syme (1986) 419.

⁹ Syme (1986) 419. Manil. *Astron.* 1.790-792 mentions his ancestors Fabius Maximus and Scipio Aemilianus.

¹⁰ Syme (1978) 136: the historical record for Africanus Fabius Maximus is sparse. He was consul in 10 BC, proconsul of Africa, and the holder of a priesthood. No wife or children are attested for him. See Syme (1986) Genealogical Table XXVII.

a pontifex, and a *frater arvalis*)¹¹. Syme points out, however, that Paullus Fabius Maximus “remains a curiously isolated figure, his loyalties concentrated on devotion to the ruler [Augustus]. Friends and allies among his own class are not easy to discover”¹². This bond of Paullus Fabius Maximus with Augustus is somewhat remarkable because Augustus, born in 63 BC, appeared to be most trusting of those close in age to himself, especially those who had been with him when he emerged on the political scene in 44 BC. Paullus Fabius Maximus, possibly born in 46 BC, was thus more a coeval of Ovid than of Augustus¹³.

If references to the Fabii in the *Fasti* are any indication, Ovid may once have considered Paullus Fabius Maximus a close ally. After Ovid’s sudden departure for exile, however, the relationship appears to have cooled¹⁴. Ovid addresses three poems from exile to Paullus Fabius Maximus (*Pont.* 1.2, 3.3, and 3.8)¹⁵. In the first (and longest) of the three poems, *Pont.* 1.2, Ovid reveals that his third wife is part of the *gens Fabia*¹⁶. She has taken refuge with Paullus Fabius Maximus in Ovid’s absence, embracing the Fabian altar, by right, and worshipping the gods of the Fabian clan (*Pont.* 1.2.147-148)¹⁷. Because Ovid refers here only

¹¹ Ovid compliments the oratorical abilities of Paullus Fabius Maximus (*Pont.* 1.2.67-68). See Syme (1978) 143 on Paullus Fabius Maximus as a patron of literature, who also had merits as a writer.

¹² Syme (1986) 408-409. Quint. *Inst.* 6.3.52 comments that Paullus Fabius Maximus was sufficiently close to Augustus to be able to joke with him about his stinginess towards his friends.

¹³ For Ovid’s birth date (20 March 43 BC), see *Tr.* 4.10.3-6 and 13-14. The birth year noted here for Paullus Fabius Maximus is that suggested by Syme (1986) 404. Syme (1978) 144 had earlier suggested either 46 or 45 BC.

¹⁴ Evans (1983) 120 notes that Ovid did not have an intimate friendship with Paullus Fabius Maximus.

¹⁵ For continuity, I have used Goold (1988) for the Latin texts of the *Tristia* (*Tr.*) and *Epistulae ex Ponto* (*Pont.*). I have checked the texts, as needed, against the texts of Owen (1915), Luck (1967), André (1968), André (1977), and Hall (1995). In most cases, the texts are in agreement. Significant differences in the readings are noted in the discussions of individual verses. For the textual tradition of the *Epistulae ex Ponto*, see Tarrant (1983) 262-265. The English translations are my own.

¹⁶ Helzle (1989a) has considered at length the paternal lineage of Ovid’s third wife. He suggests (184) that Ovid’s third wife belonged to the *domus* of Paullus Fabius Maximus, and he calls Paullus Fabius Maximus her powerful relative (191). Marin (1959) 43-44 notes also that Ovid’s third wife belonged to the *domus* of Paullus Fabius Maximus. Luisi (2007) 124-125 only proposes a family relationship of some sort. See Luisi (2003) 119 for a list of suggested dates applicable to her life.

¹⁷ In *Pont.* 3.1.75-76, Ovid tells his third wife that she owes him her help by virtue of the esteemed *domus*, likely the house of the Fabii, according to Green (2005) 333, of which she is a part. The Fabii were devoted to Hercules (*Ov., Fast.* 2.237). See also Syme

to the clan associations of his third wife, one might argue, perhaps, that she was the daughter of Africanus Fabius Maximus, the brother of Paullus Fabius Maximus, and that she had been raised by her uncle, the family's eldest son and *pater familias*. Or one might argue that she was a relation more distant than a niece, who had been given an upbringing at the illustrious house of a prominent relative, a situation not uncommon in the Late Republic and Early Empire, as the 'Turia' inscription indicates (left-hand column, 42-51): 'Turia' and her sister generously and affectionately brought up poorer female relations in their own households and arranged for their dowries. Or one might argue that Ovid's third wife was only in a patron-client relationship with the family of Paullus Fabius Maximus¹⁸. Or one might argue that Ovid's third wife was the product of an adulterous relationship (the least likely scenario)¹⁹. No one of these possibilities, however, is appropriate because Ovid appears to identify precisely the relationship of his third wife to Paullus Fabius Maximus later in this poem by stating that he took her as his bride from the *domus* of Paullus Fabius Maximus (*Pont.* 1.2.136). The word *domus* has a wide range of meanings, but Ovid uses it in many instances in the *Tristia* and *Epistulae ex Ponto* to mean not just the physical house but also the household and nuclear family, over which a man was the *dominus*²⁰. In using the word *domus* in this way to describe

(1978) 147, n. 3; Barchiesi (1997) 148; and Robinson (2011) 195-197 and 226-227 (on Hercules). See Wiseman (1974b) 154 on the self-perceived greatness of the Patrician Fabii. Pomeroy (1975) 152 discusses women worshipping the family gods in marriages *sine manu*. Treggiari (2007) xi notes that a daughter was expected to be permanently attached to the family of her birth.

¹⁸ Citroni Marchetti (2004) 9 makes this suggestion but goes no further in attempting to identify her. Schwartz (1951) 192 suggests that Ovid's third wife was a client first of the Marcii Philippi then of the Fabii Maximi; similarly, Némethy (1913) 130-131. Kraus (1968) 73 suggests she was a client of Paullus Fabius Maximus. White (1992) 216 suggests only that Ovid's wife had belonged to the entourage of one of Rome's most blue-blooded families. Harries (1991) 158 briefly discusses Paullus Fabius Maximus as Ovid's patron. Green (2005) 300 suggests that Ovid's third wife may have been only a "faithful governess or genteel lady-in-waiting".

¹⁹ Although Syme (1986) 18 notes that adulterous relationships were well known (he cites Caesar and Servilia), he also notes: "Adultery is another matter, not to be taken lightly by a student of high society, even if it eludes documentation through consequences other than dissidence or divorce. ... Cicero ... nowhere alleges that a son is not the son of his father".

²⁰ See Saller (1984) 342 on *domus* (the preferred word in contexts of lineage and kinship) meaning the physical building, everything the *domus* represents, and the nuclear family within the *domus*. Saller (1984) 355 comments that the nuclear family was the dominant family type; for the nuclear family as single family household, see also Bradley

his third wife's origin, Ovid would be emphasizing that she was likely part of the nuclear family of Paullus Fabius Maximus, in other words, that she was his daughter²¹. Ovid also notes pointedly several verses later that Paullus Fabius Maximus is not able to deny that Ovid's third wife is, without question, his paternal responsibility, calling her his *sarcina* (*Pont.* 1.2.145-146). Although the word *sarcina* can mean "burden", it also can imply the burden of a filial relationship²². Ovid's description of his wife's approach to Paullus Fabius Maximus on his behalf in *Pont.* 1.2.149, in addition, is supportive of a father-daughter relationship. Ovid describes his third wife weeping and begging Paullus Fabius Maximus to intercede with Augustus on his behalf. This scenario calls to mind Vergil's description of the tearful approach of Venus to her own father Jupiter on behalf of her son Aeneas (*Aen.* 1.228).

One objection to this identification of Paullus Fabius Maximus as the father of Ovid's third wife might be that Ovid neither addresses Paullus Fabius Maximus as his father-in-law in any of his poems from exile nor gives much indication that they are in any way close thanks to his third marriage to the daughter of Paullus Fabius Maximus. This lack of family camaraderie, however, was likely not an issue before Ovid's *relegatio*. Ovid would have been a worthy match for the daughter of Paullus Fabius Maximus²³. Like other Roman poets writing during the lifetime of Augustus, Ovid was an equestrian²⁴. In addition, he had social connec-

(1991b) 86. Martin (1996), however, expresses reservations about the emphasis placed on the strong predominance of the nuclear family. Compare also Nevett (2010) 89-118, using evidence from houses at Pompeii, on the importance of understanding the multifunctional nature of a *domus* as more than a household revolving around an elite *dominus*.

²¹ Mirmont (1905) 208 has also suggested that Ovid's third wife was the daughter of Paullus Fabius Maximus.

²² For the poetic association of *sarcina* with the womb, see Lewis & Short (1879) 1630; for *sarcina* used in this way, see also *Ov., Met.* 6.224 and *Ov. Her.* 8.94. Ovid writes that his third wife promised that she would be but a *sarcina* to him if he allowed her to come with him to Tomis (*Tr.* 1.3.84), thus applying filial terminology to a marital relationship. Ovid also uses *sarcina* to describe the first book of the *Tristia* as his offspring and describes his books as a filial burden (*Tr.* 3.14.16). In contrast, in *Pont.* 2.3.74, Ovid describes himself to his friend Cotta Maximus, the son of Messalla Corvinus, not as *sarcina*, but as *onus*. Similarly, he describes himself also as an *onus* to two unnamed friends (*Tr.* 3.4.62, *Tr.* 5.6.4, and *Tr.* 5.14.16) and to Atticus (*Pont.* 2.7.77).

²³ It is unclear from *Tr.* 4.10.77-82 whether Ovid's father was alive at the time of the arrangement of Ovid's third marriage (Ovid notes only that neither of his parents had lived to see the disgrace of his *relegatio*). Ovid's father must have been involved in arranging Ovid's short-lived first marriage and probably also involved in arranging his second.

²⁴ See White (1978) 88-92 on equestrian wealth and self-sufficiency. Attachments to wealthy friends would only enhance further an equestrian's wealth. Ovid himself proudly

tions not only to a large network of Roman poets but also, more importantly, to powerful Roman aristocrats, such as M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus (cos. 31 BC), his patron, and his sons M. Valerius Messalla Messalinus (cos. 3 BC), and M. Aurelius Cotta Maximus Messalinus (cos. AD 20)²⁵. In the poems from exile, Ovid chose to protect his third wife and her family (*Tr.* 4.3.53-56 and *Tr.* 5.5.26-27) by not disclosing their identities, and he did not even speak openly about his relationship to Paullus Fabius Maximus until the second poem of the first book of the *Epistulae ex Ponto*, that is, the sixth book of poems that he sent back from exile. Ovid implies that the hostility of Paullus Fabius Maximus towards him was connected with his banishment to Tomis by Augustus, and he writes to him with evident trepidation in *Pont.* 1.2.7-8, commenting that when Paullus Fabius Maximus reads his name in the poem, he will grow stern and read the rest of this poem with a hostile attitude. Later in the same poem, Ovid suggests that Paullus Fabius Maximus has been trying to distance himself publicly from any relationship to him (*Pont.* 1.2.146). Ovid tries to make an impassioned plea for assistance in this poem (which is likely dated to the winter of AD 11-12), but his plea met with no action. It was not until some time in mid-to-late AD 14 that Paullus Fabius Maximus seems to have changed his mind about helping Ovid. Unfortunately, as Ovid relates in a poem to his friend Brutus, Paullus Fabius Maximus died in AD 14, not long before Augustus but before being able to advocate successfully before Augustus on Ovid's behalf (*Pont.* 4.6.9-14)²⁶. Marcia, the wife of Paullus Fabius Maximus, was said to have lamented that she was the cause of his destruction

notes his equestrian status in *Tr.* 2.114 and 542, *Tr.* 4.2.16, *Tr.* 4.10.8, *Pont.* 4.8.17, and *Pont.* 4.9.18.

²⁵ White (1978) 82 notes that there is no one all-purpose word to express the relationship based in *amicitia* between a poet and the wealthy individual at the center of his entourage of poets. I have chosen to use the word patron to describe Messalla's relationship to Ovid.

²⁶ The circumstances surrounding the death of Paullus Fabius Maximus are murky. He died in AD 14 after allegedly accompanying Augustus to Planasia, where Augustus may have intended to reconcile with his grandson Agrippa Postumus, whom he had banished there in AD 7. Thibault (1964) 153, n. 251 suggests that Paullus Fabius Maximus died between 14 May AD 14, when he is recorded as voting as a member of the Arval Brotherhood, and 19 August AD 14, the date of Augustus' death. Tac., *Ann.* 1.5.1 considers the trip to be a rumor, but Dio Cass. 56.30.1 reports the story as factual. For analysis of all the versions describing this incident (Pliny, *NH* 7.150; Pseudo-Victor, *Epit.* 1.27; Plut., *De garr.* 2, p. 508; Dio Cass. 56.30.1; and Tac., *Ann.* 1.5.1), see Syme (1978) 149-151. Syme considers the incident a fable, but there may be some truth in it: see Jameson (1975) 310, Levick (1999) 45, and Barrett (2002) 63-66.

(Tac., *Ann.* 1.5), as did Ovid himself (*Pont.* 4.6.11-12). It is significant to note that, although Ovid's *relegatio* undoubtedly put a strain on their relationship, throughout the period of Ovid's *relegatio* Paullus Fabius Maximus did not compel his daughter to divorce Ovid. In addition, since Ovid mentions his third wife throughout the poems from exile and as late as *Pont.* 4.8.11-12, which can be dated to after Augustus' deification on 17 September AD 14, her family may not have compelled her to divorce Ovid even after her father's death.

If, as seems very likely, Paullus Fabius Maximus is the father of Ovid's third wife, it is imperative to consider whether Marcia, the wife of Paullus Fabius Maximus, is her mother²⁷. Paullus Fabius Maximus is believed to have married Marcia around 15 BC. The match was politically advantageous. Marcia was related to Augustus in two ways: as the daughter of Atia Minor, Augustus' maternal aunt (*matertera*), Marcia was Augustus' first cousin; and as the daughter of L. Marcius Philippus (suff. 38 BC), who was Augustus' step-brother, Marcia was also Augustus' step-niece. Ovid himself had attended the marriage of Marcia and Paullus Fabius Maximus and had sung their wedding song (*Pont.* 1.2.132)²⁸. This marriage was also the subject of Hor., *Carm.* 4.1, which was published in 13 BC but probably written earlier on the occasion of the marriage²⁹. Nothing indicates that this marriage was a first for Marcia (and it probably was at least a second), but the critical issue for the investigation of the identity of Ovid's third wife is whether Paullus Fabius Maximus' marriage to Marcia was his own first marriage. Syme believed that Horace was describing a first marriage for Paullus Fabius Maximus in *Carm.* 4.1, and he suggested that Paullus Fabius Maximus

²⁷ Thibault (1964) 153, n. 250 suggests that Ovid's third wife was a blood relation of Marcia, but this appears to be impossible, given what Ovid reveals about her maternal lineage (see below on Rufus).

²⁸ See Hersch (2010) 239-242 for the singing of the *hymenaeus* during the procession of the bride to her husband's home.

²⁹ Syme (1986) 403 dates Hor., *Carm.* 4.1 to ca. 16 BC and notes (314) that the ode preceded the marriage. In *Carm.* 4.1, Horace presents Paullus Fabius Maximus as a boy marrying for love and a slave to and a warrior for Venus. Horace's ode has been interpreted as a very serious commentary on the upcoming marriage of Paullus Fabius Maximus, but it seems more likely that the poem (especially its middle portion, *Carm.* 4.1.7-29) was intended, much like the Fescennine verses performed during the procession of the bride to her husband's home, to be humorous. Bradshaw (1970) 148-153 notes the similarities of this poem to an epithalamium. See Habinek (1986) 407-416 on why Paullus Fabius Maximus is described as he is. See Hersch (2010) 151-156 and Hubbard (2004-2005) 186 on the tradition of Fescennine verse in Roman epithalamic poetry. Ovid's description of the visit of the god Amor (*Pont.* 3.3) also calls to mind Hor., *Carm.* 4.1.

had not followed the Roman aristocratic pattern of an early marriage in his twenties. He postulated instead that Paullus Fabius Maximus was either generally averse to marriage for some reason or, perhaps, waiting for Marcia to become available as a wife³⁰. Although these interpretations are possible, it seems more reasonable to assume that Paullus Fabius Maximus, like other aristocratic Roman men, did marry early³¹. After at least one prior marriage, he married again to Marcia. His marriage to Marcia eventually produced two children, Fabia Numantina and Paullus Fabius Persicus (cos. AD 34), whose *cognomina* also reflect the family's obsession with the exploits of their alleged ancestors the Scipiones³².

Ovid makes it clear that his third wife is not the product of the (presumably second) marriage of Paullus Fabius Maximus to Marcia. His description of the relationship between his third wife and Marcia is, however, consistent with the identity of his third wife as Marcia's step-daughter. If Ovid's third wife were possibly born around 25 BC, she would have been still unmarried herself at the time of her father's marriage to Marcia in 15 BC³³. Since children after a Roman divorce, in most

³⁰ Syme (1982) 63 notes that a young senator takes his first bride around twenty-two years of age, not long before the quaestorship. Syme (1978) 143-145 discusses the marriage of Paullus Fabius Maximus to Marcia.

³¹ Syme (1978) 144 suggests that it would have been abnormal and somewhat scandalous if Paullus Fabius Maximus had never been married by the age of thirty. See Harlow & Laurence (2002) 95-97 on the classic Roman first-marriage pattern (bride 15 years, bridegroom 25 years). Saller (1987) 29-30 notes that the typical marriage pattern of a customary marriage-age for men of at least 25 years may not have extended to the senatorial order where it appears that a significant proportion of senators married in their early twenties and produced a first son in their mid-twenties.

³² For Fabia Numantina, see Tac., *Ann.* 4.22.3; Syme (1978) 152; and Syme (1986) 59 and 418. For Paullus Fabius Persicus, born possibly in 2 BC or 1 BC, see Syme (1978) 118 and 154 and Syme (1986) 416.

³³ Ovid does not provide the precise information about the birth year of his third wife, but one can suggest a possible range based on modern studies of the age of Roman girls at marriage. The legal age for marriage for Roman girls was 12. Hopkins (1965) 317 suggests an age range for the marriage of pagan Roman girls of between 11 and 17. According to Hopkins (1965) 319, inscriptions suggest a modal age at marriage for pagan girls of 12 to 15. Ovid himself suggests that 14 was the marriageable age for a girl (*Met.* 11.302). Shaw (1987) 43-44 argues that upper-class Roman girls may have married younger than their late teens. If Ovid's third wife was born ca. 25 BC, she may have married for the first time perhaps around 12 BC. Wheeler (1925) 26 suggests that, if there is reality in Ovid's words, his third wife was between thirty and forty years of age around AD 12-13 (and born therefore between 28 and 18 BC). Luisi (2007) 126, n. 16, however, suggests that Ovid's third wife was born around 40 BC and was thus almost contemporary with Ovid, which is unlikely.

cases, stayed not with their mothers but with their fathers, Marcia, as stepmother to Ovid's third wife, could have had a close relationship with Ovid's third wife, who would have lived in the *domus* of her father (and Marcia's husband), Paullus Fabius Maximus, until she was married³⁴. Ovid mentions also that his third wife was counted earlier among the *comites* ("comrades") of Marcia's mother, Atia Minor, the maternal aunt of Augustus (*Pont.* 1.2.139). Ovid uses *comites* in his exilic poetry to describe the relationship of the famed poets of the Late Republic Cinna, Ticia, and Memmius (*Tr.* 2.433-435) and of his own contemporaries Salanus and Germanicus (*Pont.* 2.5.43). Ovid also calls the Muse, who was his only comrade during his flight into exile, his *comes* (*Tr.* 4.1.20 and 4.10.119), and he calls the second ship he boarded at Cenchreae on his way into exile *comes* (*Tr.* 1.10.10), a usage that reflects the etymology of the word (*con* + *eo*, "to go along with")³⁵. *Comes*, as part of the lexicon of *amicitia*, is based in the equality of the participants in the relationship rather than the subordination of one to the other³⁶. Although the word *comes* is used to describe relationships among men, it is not common to find it in descriptions of relationships among women, perhaps because no descriptions of such relationships by women and very few references to such relationships by men have survived from antiquity. For example, Ovid describes the frightened Proserpina calling upon her mother and her *comites* (*Met.* 5.397) and the frightened Europa riding off on the bull while calling upon her *comites* (*Met.* 6.106). He also describes Aethra and Clymene as both *comites* (comrades) and *consilium* (counsellors) to Helen (*Her.* 17.267-268)³⁷. If we may extrapolate from these few examples and from what we know of the relation-

³⁴ Bradley (1991a) 165-166 notes that, according to Roman law, the children of a divorced couple remained in the household of their father; the familial tie to the mother and future step-siblings, however, remained. Treggiari (1991b) 438-439 notes that Latin sources on divorce are patchy; there is no formal word for ex-wife or ex-husband. See Treggiari (2007) 138-139 on the bonds between the divorced Terentia and Cicero brought about by the needs of their children.

³⁵ See *Oxford Latin Dictionary* (1996) 359 and Lewis & Short (1879) 373.

³⁶ Ovid also uses the language of *amicitia* in the poems addressed to his third wife; see Helzle (1989a) 188. Helzle emphasizes that this language is not representative merely of a poetic relationship but a real one. Oliensis (1997) 154 compares the virtuous wife to a true client. Fedeli (2006) 148, however, disagrees with Helzle's interpretation, preferring to view Ovid's presentation of his third wife in terms of the tactics of courtship.

³⁷ Kenney (1996) 113 identifies Aethra and Clymene as the two maids-of-honor who, in *Hom., Il.* 3.143-144, attend Helen to the city wall. These two women are not servants. Homer identifies Aethra as the daughter of Pittheus, the King of Troezen.

ships of *amicitia* between male *comites*, the relationship between Atia Minor and Ovid's third wife may have been similar. Ovid's third wife was part of an important aristocratic female social network³⁸. Such networks, like those consisting of men, could be based not only in personal friendship but also in family connections created either through kinship or marriage³⁹.

The relationship Marcia had with Ovid's third wife was also described as one between *comites*, but it appears to have been even closer than the one Ovid's third wife had with Marcia's mother, Atia Minor. Not only is Ovid's third wife also one of Marcia's comrades, Marcia is described as having loved her from an early age, a description that would be consistent with the identification of Marcia as the stepmother of Ovid's third wife (*Pont.* 1.2.137-138)⁴⁰. Marcia, who may have been close in age to Ovid, was held up by Ovid to his third wife as someone for her to emulate and to please and as someone who has cherished his third wife (*Pont.* 3.1.77-78). Ovid himself had paid Marcia, who was likely his step-mother-in-law, a high compliment in his *Fasti*, the first half of

³⁸ Studies of *amicitia* focus on men. See Brunt (1965) for a general analysis of *amicitia* in all its complexities and, in particular, as a concept involving much more than political connections. If women are considered in discussions of *amicitia*, the focus is generally on whether men admitted women into relationships of *amicitia* or on how women directly affected male domains, such as politics. See Oliensis (1997), Konstan (1997) 146, Fogel (2009) 79-82, and Helzlsouer (1989a) 188-189. Aristocratic Roman women, however, participated in women's social networks in the Late Republic as can be inferred from statements such as that by Diodorus Siculus (frag. 40.5) that the unnamed mistress of an unnamed man gave Cicero's wife Terentia information about the planned assassination of Cicero at his morning *salutatio* on 7 November 63 BC and from the statement by Tacitus (*Ann.* 1.5) that Marcia told Livia about the alleged trip that her husband Paullus Fabius Maximus made with Augustus, in AD 14, to visit Agrippa Postumus on Planasia. For Terentia as an important source of patronage for women, see Treggiari (2007) 46, 133, and 148-149. Festivals, such as the Bona Dea, were undoubtedly important for the maintenance of women's networks. See Brouwer (1989) 270-272 for a list of women of the Senatorial Order in the Republic and Early Empire connected with the Bona Dea. Staples (1998) 11-12 notes, however, that the cult of Bona Dea was not just about women but explored the nature of male-female relationships. Compare Hänninen (1999) 39-52 on the cult of Juno Regina in the Roman republic.

³⁹ See Gruber-Miller (2009) on the intersection of *amicitia* and *familia*.

⁴⁰ Stepmothers in Roman literature had a bad reputation; see, for example, Hor., *Epod.* 5.9-10. See also Watson (1995) 174-175 on the Roman obsession with wicked stepmothers and the fear of stepmothers, which was likely due to tensions over inheritance. See Vidén (1993) 19-22 on Tacitus' view of Livia as a stepmother; see also Watson (1995) 176-192. Real Roman stepmothers (of whom there were many in the world of Roman serial marriages), of course, were not all like the literary stereotypes; for example, see Watson (1995) 197-206 on Octavia.

which was published before Ovid's *relegatio* (several years after his marriage to his third wife, which took place perhaps around 1 BC)⁴¹. After mentioning the relationship of Juno as stepmother (*Fast.* 6.800: *noverca*) to Hercules, who was sacred to the Fabii, Ovid describes (*Fast.* 6.801) the restoration of the Temple of Hercules Musarum in 29 BC by L. Marcius Philippus, who has been identified either as Marcia's grandfather (cos. 56 BC) or father⁴². Marcia is the only contemporary figure outside members of the imperial family whom Ovid names in this poem (*Fast.* 6.802-803). Since the possible second half of the *Fasti* is not extant, the last image we have in what survives of the poem is of the Muses and Hercules singing the praises of Marcia, who is both a member by birth of the family of Augustus, a member by marriage of the family of Augustus' friend and confidant Paullus Fabius Maximus, and likely also a member by marriage of the family of Ovid himself⁴³.

THE MATERNAL RELATIONSHIP: RUFUS

Ovid's third wife as a daughter of Paullus Fabius Maximus would have received status, lineage, and protection from her father and his family, but she could also have maintained a relationship with her biological mother (if she were still alive) or with the members of her mother's family. Whereas Ovid links his third wife with the *gens Fabia* and thus points us in the direction of the identification of Maximus as Paullus Fabius Maximus, Ovid provides less direct but still important clues about the maternal lineage of his third wife. Ovid comments that his third wife is of the blood of Rufus (*Pont.* 2.11.18)⁴⁴. Using mythological allusions, Ovid identifies precisely the nature of the relationship between his third wife and Rufus (*Pont.* 2.11.15-16): as Castor was to

⁴¹ Wheeler (1925) 26 conjectures that Ovid married his third wife no later than 9-8 BC. Syme (1978) 145 suggests that Ovid cannot have married his third wife (whom he identifies as a widow) earlier than 4 BC. Della Corte (1975-1976) 253 suggests that Ovid married his third wife around 5 BC. See also Luisi (2003) 108 and 119 and Luisi (2007). Luisi (2005) and Luisi (2006) discuss Ovid's first two wives.

⁴² Richardson (1992) 187 identifies L. Marcius Philippus as Marcia's grandfather; Syme (1978) 35 identifies him as her father.

⁴³ Helzle (1989a) 185 notes that the Fabii are praised in the *Fasti* more than any other Roman family except the imperial family.

⁴⁴ On the basis of mathematically calculated symmetry, Irigoin (1980) 21-26 proposes that *Pont.* 2.11 be moved to follow *Pont.* 3.4. Green (2005) 330-331 is suspicious of this proposed shift and deems it unjustified.

Hermione and Hector was to Iulus, Rufus is to his third wife. In other words, Rufus is the maternal uncle (*avunculus*) of his third wife⁴⁵. The relationship of Ovid's third wife to her uncle is a close and beneficial one. Ovid notes that Rufus has been instrumental in increasing the praiseworthiness of his niece (*Pont.* 2.11.13-14). Because of his influence, she has tried to be like him in her uprightness (*Pont.* 2.11.17) and in her activities, which include writing (*Pont.* 2.11.18-20):

seque tui vita sanguinis esse probat.
 ergo quod fuerat stimulis factura sine ullis,
 plenius auctorem te quoque nanta facit.
 She proves herself by her life to be of your blood. Therefore, what she
 would have done without any prodding, she does more abundantly
 because she is also related to you, a writer.

This Rufus remained, unlike Paullus Fabius Maximus, an openly faithful supporter of Ovid and his niece, Ovid's third wife, throughout the years of Ovid's *relegatio* (*Pont.* 2.11.23-24).

Although Ovid emphasizes the closeness of the relationship of his third wife to her maternal uncle Rufus, unfortunately, he never makes explicit the identity of Rufus or the identity of Rufus' family⁴⁶. A number of possible candidates exist because Rufus is among the six most common Roman *cognomina*⁴⁷. Syme singles out (and ultimately discounts) three individuals with the *cognomen* Rufus: L. Tampus Rufus, L. Passienus Rufus (cos. 4 BC), and C. Vibius Rufus (suff. AD 16). He also mentions the family of P. Suillius Rufus (suff. ca. AD 43), the son-in-law of Ovid's third wife⁴⁸. Critical to Syme's consideration was the presumed link of Rufus, the maternal uncle of Ovid's third wife, to

⁴⁵ Ovid does not use the familial term for maternal uncle (*avunculus*). See Bush (1972) 568 n. 2 for *avunculus* as a collateral relationship. See Bettini (1991) 65 on the role of the *avunculus* as guardian and protector of his niece. Compare Bettini (1991) 46-48 for examples in the Republic of the indulgent attitude of *avunculi* toward their nephews. For the close relationships that developed between maternal aunts (*materterae*), who were considered second mothers, and their nephews, see Bettini (1991) 67-77. On close relationships between *materterae* and their nieces, see Bettini (1991) 88-91. See Corbier (1991b) 53-54 on the importance of the maternal line and Pomeroy (1975) 158 on the importance of the blood relationship with the mother.

⁴⁶ Helzle (1989b) 189 does not offer a conjecture about the identity of Ovid's Rufus.

⁴⁷ Syme (1978) 79. A similar problem has hindered attempts to identify Catullus' Rufus; Wiseman (1974a) 106-108 mentions nineteen contemporaries of Catullus with the *cognomen* Rufus who are possible candidates.

⁴⁸ Syme (1978) 78-79. See Groag, Stein, & Petersen III 143-145 for a list of Romans with the *cognomen* Rufus.

the town of Fundi on the basis of the two verses that close the poem Ovid addressed to Rufus (*Pont.* 2.11.27-28)⁴⁹. These verses are universally interpreted to mean that Rufus was connected with the Italian town of Fundi. Such an interpretation, I suggest, has proven to be a distraction in the search for the identity of Ovid's Rufus (*Pont.* 2.11.25-28):

o, referant grates, quoniam non possumus ipsi,
di tibi! qui referent, si pia facta vident;
sufficiatque diu corpus quoque moribus istis,
maxima Fundani gloria, Rufe, soli.

May the gods give you thanks because I myself am unable to do so!
They will do this if they see the things you have done out of duty.
And, Rufus, may the greatest pride of Fundi's soil also long replenish
your body because of your praiseworthy character.

Ovid in the exilic poems never connects the *gloria* of an individual to a place⁵⁰. As my translation indicates, the reference to *Fundani gloria ... soli* may not be a reference to the hometown of Rufus. In sentiment, these verses are more reminiscent of Ovid's description, in an earlier poem, of the gatherings at which he shared a convivial drink of wine with his fellow poets (*Tr.* 5.3.47-48)⁵¹. Because, according to *Pont.* 2.11.20, Rufus appears to be a writer (*auctor*), Ovid instead may be offering heart-felt thanks here, in the form of a toast to a faithful friend, relative by marriage, and fellow poet⁵². Ovid's reference to the famed Caecuban wine of Fundi is also likely an allusion to Livia, who is said in some sources to have had family connections to Fundi, which may have been the birthplace of her mother Alfidia⁵³. This reference to Livia

⁴⁹ See Syme (1978) 78-79 for the alleged connection of Ovid's Rufus to Fundi; similarly, Bertrand (1985) 192, White (1992) 216, and Helzle (2003) 403.

⁵⁰ In comparison, Ovid calls Germanicus Caesar *gloria Pieridum summa* (*Pont.* 4.8.70); he is described as the pride of the Muses but not the pride of a place associated with the Muses.

⁵¹ Ovid identifies himself to Cotta Maximus in *Pont.* 3.5.4 as *Naso poeta*. Ovid also notes his close bonds with his fellow poets in *Pont.* 3.4.67-70. He envisions them gathered in celebration of the rites of Bacchus (*Tr.* 5.3.33-34), which involve wine (*Tr.* 5.3.47-48). He extends this bond even to his predecessor-poets (*Tr.* 4.10.41-42). See also Hor., *Epist.* 1.19.10-11 on poets vying in wine-drinking by night.

⁵² Compare Ovid on Falernian wine in *Pont.* 4.2.9. Horace mentions the prized Caecuban wine in *Carm.* 1.20.9, *Carm.* 1.37.5, *Carm.* 2.14.25, *Carm.* 3.28.3, *Epod.* 9.36, and *Sat.* 2.8.15.

⁵³ For Livia's connection to Fundi, see Suet., *Tib.* 5 and Suet., *Cal.* 23.2. Linderski (1974) 465-466, Barrett (2002) 5, and Huntsman (2009) 131 and n. 36 suggest that Alfidia came from Fundi. Wiseman (1965) 334, however, suggests that Alfidia came perhaps from Marruvium.

in connection with Fundi here recalls another allusion to Livia that Ovid made in the poem addressed to Paullus Fabius Maximus. There he referred to Livia by means of a mention of the chaste matron Claudia (*Pont.* 1.2.141-142), thus recalling her descent by blood, on the side of her father M. Livius Drusus Claudianus, from one of the greatest of Rome's clans, the *gens Claudia*⁵⁴. By means of this reference to Fundi in *Pont.* 2.11.28, Ovid might have been able not only to call on the comradeship between poets but also to remind Rufus of the importance of beseeching Livia in order to secure a change in the location of his banishment.

If we are freed from the necessity of linking Ovid's Rufus to Fundi, we may consider other Roman men with the *cognomen* Rufus, who were not examined as possible candidates by Syme. The best candidates are men whose reputation derived from the fact that they were poets and not merely political figures who dabbled in writing, as many did⁵⁵. Several poets with the *cognomen* Rufus are possible. The first, L. Varius Rufus can probably be eliminated⁵⁶. Varius was the friend of Vergil and Horace and was one of the poets who travelled to the meeting of Augustus and Antony at Tarentum in 37 BC. He was an esteemed poet from the circle

⁵⁴ Barrett (2002) 4-7 notes that the *gens Claudia* had its share not only of virtuous individuals but also rogues. Livia was related to Clodia (née Claudia) Metelli, who is likely Catullus' Lesbia. See also Skinner (2010).

⁵⁵ *Auctor* may mean "author, creator, or founder" (see *Oxford Latin Dictionary* 204-207 and Lewis & Short [1879] 198-199), but its most common meaning in Ovid's poems from exile is "author": see *Tr.* 1.9.60, *Tr.* 2.411, *Tr.* 2.533, *Tr.* 3.3.80, *Tr.* 5.1.68, *Tr.* 5.14.3, *Pont.* 1.1.6, *Pont.* 1.5.78, *Pont.* 1.7.3, *Pont.* 3.4.37, *Pont.* 3.5.3, *Pont.* 3.9.9, *Pont.* 4.9.67, *Pont.* 4.13.11, *Pont.* 4.14.40, and *Pont.* 4.16.25. *Auctor* also has a legal meaning ("sponsor" or "guarantor"), but Ovid does not use it in this way in the exilic poems. Goold (1988) 371 translates *auctor* in *Pont.* 2.11.20 as "sponsor". Green (2005) 152 translates *auctor* as "guide". Helzle (2003) 406 comments only on the interplay of *plenius* with the etymology of *auctor*. A proposed identification of Rufus as a poet would disallow the possibility that Ovid's third wife was related by blood, perhaps as an aunt to her son-in-law, P. Suillius Rufus (suff. ca. AD 43). Marriage between cousins was possible (see, for example, the marriage of first cousins Julia and Marcellus from the imperial family), but writers seem to have been absent from Suillius' extended family. Suillius was a son of Vistilia by her fourth marriage; his half brother by her fifth marriage was the general Cn. Domitius Corbulo (suff. AD 39), who was forced by Nero, in AD 67, to commit suicide (Dio Cass. 62.17.5-6). On Suillius, Corbulo, and the other children of Vistilia, see Syme (1970), Raepsaet-Charlier II Genealogical Table XIV, and Kavanagh (2010) 272-278.

⁵⁶ Hollis (1996) 20 suggests a possible birth year for Varius Rufus of a little before 70 BC; he suggests (22-23) that he may have lived on for some years after he finished editing the *Aeneid*. On the career and fragments of poetry of L. Varius Rufus, see Hollis (2007) 253-281 and Courtney (1993) 271-275.

of Maecenas, known for his epic and tragic poetry. After Vergil's death in 19 BC, Varius edited the *Aeneid*, together with Plotius Tucca, at the request of Augustus. Varius was close in age but likely older than Vergil (born 70 BC), Horace (born 65 BC), and Maecenas (born ca. 70 BC). Although Varius may have continued writing after he finished editing the *Aeneid* in 15 BC, it seems unlikely that he is the uncle of Ovid's third wife who supported her and guided her in an active fashion after Ovid's *relegatio*. C. Valgius Rufus (suff. 12 BC), a poet in the circle of Messalla, is also a possible candidate, but since he was probably a close contemporary of Horace, it also seems unlikely, due to his age, that he can be the actively supportive uncle of Ovid's third wife⁵⁷.

A better candidate for Ovid's Rufus is the youngest of the individuals with the name Ser. Sulpicius Rufus⁵⁸. There were three men of note by this name in the Late Republic and Early Empire. The eldest of the three, Ser. Sulpicius Rufus the jurist (of the rustic tribe Lemonia), was supported by Julius Caesar for his consulship of 51 BC. He was a friend of Cicero and later supported Pompey⁵⁹. Since he died in 43 BC, the year Ovid was born, he cannot be Ovid's Rufus. The son of Ser. Sulpicius Rufus the jurist was Ser. Sulpicius Rufus the orator, who was a *consobrinus* (a first cousin), probably close in age, of D. Junius Brutus Albinus⁶⁰. Ser. Sulpicius Rufus the orator was able to steer a neutral

⁵⁷ On C. Valgius Rufus, see Hollis (2007) 290-291 and Courtney (1993) 287-290.

⁵⁸ Farney (2007) 293 notes that the Sulpicii were one of the Roman families advertising ethnic identity on coinage; he suggests as their origin possibly the Latin communities Lavinium and Alba Longa, but not Fundi, a Volscian town. Farney (2007) 44 n. 18 notes also that Fundi was promoted to full citizenship in 188 BC.

⁵⁹ Syme (1986) 229 n. 28. Ser. Sulpicius Rufus the jurist (cos. 51 BC), whose full name would have been Ser. Sulpicius Q. F. Lemonia Rufus, failed to achieve the consulship in 62 BC. Cicero's Ninth *Philippic* serves as a eulogy to him. Two letters from Ser. Sulpicius Rufus the jurist appear among Cicero's letters (*Fam.* 4.12, on the murder of M. Marcellus, and *Fam.* 4.5, on the death of Cicero's daughter Tullia). See also Syme (1986) 348 and Genealogical Table XXIV. The tribe Lemonia was named supposedly after a town located close to Rome on the south-heading Via Latina before the Porta Capena in the Republican wall (Festus, Book 10, "Lemonia").

⁶⁰ According to Syme (1986) 206, Ser. Sulpicius Rufus the orator was confused, at times, with his father the jurist by Quintilian. See also Syme (1981) 421-427. Ser. Sulpicius Rufus the orator was a first cousin to D. Junius Brutus Albinus (pr.? 45 BC), one of the assassins of Julius Caesar (see Cicero, *Fam.* 11.7; Syme [1986] Genealogical Table XXIV; and Syme [1980] 426-430, who suggests that Decimus is the son of Julius Caesar). Treggiari (2007) 82 and 88 notes that Ser. Sulpicius Rufus the orator was considered as a possible third husband for Tullia, but he ended up marrying Valeria instead. Also considered was Tiberius Claudius Nero, who ended up marrying Livia Drusilla, the future wife of Augustus.

course during the civil war between Pompey and Julius Caesar. He is known to have had a daughter Sulpicia (likely the poet) by Valeria, a sister of Messalla Corvinus⁶¹. He probably perished in the proscriptions of 43 BC and therefore cannot be Ovid's Rufus⁶².

It is likely that Ser. Sulpicius Rufus the orator also had a son of the same name. Unlike his father, whose only poetic activity seems to have been translating Greek verse, this third Ser. Sulpicius Rufus was a practicing poet known not only to Ovid but also to other contemporary poets⁶³. Horace names a Servius among poets (including Messalla Corvinus) he admires (*Sat.* 1.10.86); he mentions that a Sulpicius is storing up a jar of wine in his storehouse (*Carm.* 4.12.18), and he describes a Rufus in attendance at the dinner of Nasidienus (*Sat.* 2.8.58). Ovid in the poem from exile that serves as an open letter to Augustus names a Servius as the author of wanton verses (*Tr.* 2.441-442)⁶⁴. Ovid also mentions a poet named Rufus writing in the style of Pindar (*Pont.* 4.16.28)⁶⁵. These references could all be to the same individual, Ser. Sulpicius Rufus the poet. That Ser. Sulpicius Rufus the poet is named by both

⁶¹ Hallett (2006b) 38-40: Valeria did not remarry after her husband's death in 43 BC. Sulpicia refers to her mother Valeria as *studiosa* ([Tib.] 3.12.15) and to her mother's brother Messalla Corvinus as *studiosus* ([Tib.] 3.14.5). On the significance of these descriptions, see Hallett (2002a) 148. Hallett (2006a) 86, n. 51 notes that it is impossible to prove that Sulpicia wrote any of the eleven elegies ascribed to her or that she was Messalla's niece or that she even existed because no ancient source independently attests her existence. Nonetheless, Hallett argues, based on indirect evidence, that Sulpicia was kin to Messalla Corvinus and did write eleven poems. Hallett (2002c) 422 ascribes more poems to Sulpicia than other scholars.

⁶² Syme (1986) 205-206.

⁶³ Syme (1981) 424-425 notes the existence of a son of Ser. Sulpicius Rufus the orator, a Sulpicius Postumius, who is thus named only in Frontinus, *Aq.* 99.4. Butrica (1993) 51-53 equates this son with the Lygdamus who wrote a short cycle of poems gathered as [Tib.] 3.1-6. Syme suggests that the unusual *cognomen* Postumius reflects his maternal ancestry (his grandmother, the wife of Ser. Sulpicius Rufus the jurist, may have been a Postumia). Syme acknowledges that this *cognomen* would have to count as one of the earliest instances of such nomenclature. Ser. Sulpicius Rufus the poet would have been close in age to Ovid. Rodgers (2004) 102 and 268 reads "Postumius" but offers no comment on the identity of the individual in question.

⁶⁴ For a discussion of the identity of Servius, see Ingleheart (2010) 343-344.

⁶⁵ Hollis (2007) 427 notes that the re-creation of Pindar in Latin was perhaps the greatest challenge a Roman poet could undertake; Ovid implies that Rufus succeeded beyond all others. See also Ingleheart (2010) 343-344. A Ser. Sulpicius appears in Pliny's list of predecessors writing light verse (*Ep.* 5.3.5), but the list is not in strict chronological order and does not identify him further. Syme (1981) 426-427 suggests that the Servius of *Tr.* 2.441 may be either Ser. Sulpicius Rufus the jurist or his son, Ser. Sulpicius Rufus the orator, but he appears to lean towards identifying him as the orator.

praenomen (Servius) and *cognomen* (Rufus) is not problematic. The rules of naming individuals in Augustan poetry were not rigid. Horace in *Sat.* 1.10 and Ovid in *Tr.* 4.10, for example, even identify poets by their *nomina* — although at the end of the Republic prominent Romans preferred to drop the *nomen* (as Agrippa, for example, suppressed Vipsanius)⁶⁶. But in the more intimate poems of the *Tristia* and *Epistulae ex Ponto* directly addressed to close friends, Ovid uses *cognomina* — Atticus, Brutus, Carus, Flaccus, Graecinus, Macer, Maximus (for both Cotta Maximus and Paullus Fabius Maximus), Messalinus, and Rufinus, and he always refers to himself, in his poems from exile, by his own *cognomen*, Naso. That Ser. Sulpicus Rufus the poet may have shifted his poetic style from elegiac to lyric is also not problematic. Vergil, for example, wrote, in turn, bucolic, didactic, and epic poetry. Ovid himself had shifted before his banishment from writing elegiac poetry to writing didactic and epic poetry, and he returned again, during his *relegatio*, to the elegiac form. Ovid also comments that his third wife creates admirably on her own without prodding but that she creates more abundantly because she is related to Rufus who was himself a writer⁶⁷. Ser. Sulpicius Rufus the poet, whose existence we may postulate with some confidence, therefore, would have had important connections to poets. His mother Valeria belonged to the same clan as the Neoteric poet C. Valerius Catullus⁶⁸. He was also the nephew of Messalla Corvinus, who was at the center of an entourage of poets that included Ovid, Tibullus, and his sister Sulpicia⁶⁹.

⁶⁶ See Syme (1986) 391. Hor., *Sat.* 1.10.81 and Ov., *Tr.* 4.10.51 refer to Vergil by his *nomen* Vergilius. Ovid addresses Sex. Pompeius (cos. AD 14) by his *nomen* and *praenomen* in *Pont.* 4.1.1-2 (*Pompei ... Sexte*) but, after this, only by his *praenomen* Sextus (*Pont.* 4.1.35 and *Pont.* 4.15.18).

⁶⁷ Ovid's Perilla (*Tr.* 3.7), who was instructed by Ovid in poetry when she was young and who wrote elegiac poetry, may be Ovid's third wife; see Lewis (2012).

⁶⁸ On the relationship between the family of M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus and the Valerii Catulli of Verona, see Wiseman (1993) 226 and Hallett (2002a) 142-149. See Hallett (2002a) 144-148 on Sulpicia's choice of elegiac as a possible homage to Catullus who belonged, like her, to the *gens Valeria*. Hallett (2006a) 85 notes the indirect testimony that Sulpicia found Catullus a more congenial role model than Horace.

⁶⁹ Hubbard (2004-2005) 186 comments on the possibility that poetic talent is hereditary. Compare the case of the sibling poets Cornificia, who wrote epigrams, and Q. Cornificius, the Neoteric poet and orator (and friend of both Cicero and Catullus), from the mid-first century BC. See also Hemelrijk (1999) 148-149. Hallett (2009) 185-188 comments on Sulpicia's "evocation and invocation" of her father Ser. Sulpicius Rufus the orator in her poems. See Hemelrijk (1999) 91 on women praised for displaying the talents and gifts of their fathers. For recent trends in Sulpicia studies, see Keith (2006) 3-10. See also Hallett (2002b) 45-65.

If the identification of the maternal uncle of Ovid's third wife as Ser. Sulpicius Rufus the poet is correct, his sister Sulpicia the poet is likely the mother of Ovid's third wife. The identification of Sulpicia as the mother of Ovid's third wife (and therefore Ovid's third mother-in-law) is not as surprising as it might seem. Chronology is supportive of this possibility. Sulpicia was likely a bit older than Ovid, who was himself born in 43 BC⁷⁰. She may have been writing her poetry in the 30s BC⁷¹. Whether Sulpicia continued writing extensively for "publication" throughout her life is difficult to know, and the small size of her corpus of poetry is not necessarily an indication of limited poetic output. But it is also safe to say that, while love of the Muses could remain abiding, the impetus and ability to continue writing poetry for publication would have been more difficult once a girl embarked first on the life of a *matrona* with all its responsibilities and then later if she changed spouses and families due to remarriage⁷².

A first marriage for Paullus Fabius Maximus to Sulpicia, from which was born Ovid's third wife, is a reasonable possibility⁷³. The Fabii and

⁷⁰ Hallett (2006b) 41 n. 15 suggests that Sulpicia might have been several years older than Ovid and closer in age to Tibullus, who was born in the 50s BC. Keith (1997) 296 suggests that Sulpicia was born at some point from the mid-40s to the mid-30s BC. If, however, her father died in 43 BC, an earlier birth year is preferable.

⁷¹ Sulpicia's poems are part of the so-called *Corpus Tibullianum*, a third book attached to poems written by Tibullus, which was likely a repository of poems collected by Messalla Corvinus. Hemelrijk (1999) 152 and Merriam (2005) 167 n. 3 argue that Sulpicia wrote for publication. Hallett (2006b) 41 suggests that Sulpicia wrote her poetry around 19 BC when Ovid was launching his career. Keith (1997) 296 suggests she was writing in the 20s BC and demonstrates (307) how Sulpicia "repeatedly evokes the amatory relations of Dido and Aeneas by redeploying Vergilian diction and recombining Vergilian themes and imagery". Ovid knew of her poetry since they were both part of Messalla Corvinus' circle. See Hallett (2006b) 42 for intertextualities between Sulpicia and Ovid. See Lowe (1988), Hemelrijk (1999) 151-160, Santirocco (1999), and Stevenson (2005) 36-39 for evaluations of Sulpicia and her poetry.

⁷² Hemelrijk (1999) 183-184 concludes that women wrote less than men because of the exigencies of their daily life, their various obligations, and the haphazard nature of their education. To publish, a woman also needed the literary connections supplied by their male relatives. Hubbard (2004-2005) 187-188 believes six poems of the Garland of Sulpicia were epithalamic in honor of her wedding to M. Caecilius Cornutus (Cerinthus). On Cornutus, see Syme (1986) 47.

⁷³ The relationship about which Sulpicia writes may have been a second marriage, perhaps to Cornutus. Hubbard (2004-2005) 187 suggests that [Tib.] 3.8-12 are an anniversary tribute to the now-married couple. A first marriage might explain Sulpicia's bold comments in [Tib.] 3.13. Treggiari (1991a) 107, however, takes Sulpicia's words at face value as "an assertion of the claim of a highborn woman to experience love before marriage with a future husband".

the Sulpicii were both patrician houses⁷⁴. The fathers of Paullus Fabius Maximus and Ser. Sulpicius Rufus the orator were known to each other as clients of Julius Caesar. Paullus Fabius Maximus had been thrust into a prominent family role because of the death of his father when he was very young (Q. Fabius Maximus died at the end of 45 BC, and Paullus Fabius Maximus was born in either 46 or 45 BC)⁷⁵. A marriage between Paullus Fabius Maximus (which he may have arranged on his own behalf) and Sulpicia (whose marriage was likely arranged by someone other than her own father, if he had indeed perished in 43 BC) would be further evidence of the somewhat independent, peculiar streak evident in Paullus Fabius Maximus because, in general, members of the Fabii were traditionally expected to hold aloof from marriage alliances with Valerii (Sulpicia's mother was a Valeria)⁷⁶. Poetry may also have played some role in the matchmaking because Paullus Fabius Maximus also wrote some poetry and was known by prominent poets such as Horace⁷⁷. A marriage between Sulpicia and Paullus Fabius Maximus, however, must have ended in divorce, for reasons now lost to us. The reasons may have been personal, or they may have been political: when a more advantageous alliance presented itself, Paullus Fabius Maximus entered into a subsequent marriage with a woman who had much better social and political connections⁷⁸. An alliance with Marcia offered not only a

⁷⁴ See Wiseman (1974b) 153-154.

⁷⁵ Syme (1986) 420. Q. Fabius Maximus commanded an army in Spain for Caesar and achieved the consulship in 45 BC. Syme (1986) 347-348 notes the death of Q. Fabius Maximus on the last day of his consulship in 45 BC and also the perils inflicted on families by absent or deceased fathers. Ser. Sulpicius Rufus the jurist was supported for his consulship of 51 BC by Caesar over Q. Fabius Maximus. Ser. Sulpicius Rufus the orator, his son, served as a quaestor to Augustus a decade or so after Actium. On father and son, see Syme (1955) 69-70.

⁷⁶ Syme (1986) 419.

⁷⁷ Syme (1986) 409 notes that the writing of verse was a normal pastime in high society. Ovid notes that Paullus Fabius Maximus admired Ovid's "harmless" poems but also that, in return, Ovid admired the *scripta* that Paullus Fabius Maximus wrote when they were read to him (*Pont.* 1.2.135). That the *scripta* of Paullus Fabius Maximus were poems is very likely. Although Ovid often uses the word *carmina* for his poetic output (*Pont.* 3.4.73), he also employs the word *scriptum* to describe his own poetry (*Pont.* 3.4.74 and *Pont.* 3.9.14) and that of the poet Perilla (*Tr.* 3.7.30). Bradshaw (1970) 142 n. 3, however, thinks it improbable that Paullus Fabius Maximus' *scripta* were poems.

⁷⁸ Similarly, as Treggiari (2005) 140 notes, Augustus' early marriages were dynastic; they terminated in divorce due to political reasons. See Pomeroy (1975) 155-157 on the large number of connubial alliances in the Late Republic and Pomeroy (1975) 158-159 on divorce for political considerations. See also Pomeroy (1976) on marriages arranged for political and financial profit, Treggiari (1991a) 102-103, and Bradley (1991b) 161. Treggiari (2007) 84-85 sets out the things to be considered in a potential husband for a daughter who had been married before.

close family connection to the *princeps* but also an illustrious family lineage allegedly traceable back to the Sabine Ancus Marcius, one of Rome's early kings (*Fast.* 6.803-804)⁷⁹.

A PRIOR MARITAL RELATIONSHIP: MACER

Ovid mentions also a third family relationship of his wife to a friend he identifies only as Macer. This individual may have been an unnamed recipient of other poems from Ovid, but he is addressed openly as a recipient only in *Pont.* 2.10. Like Rufus, the maternal uncle of his third wife, Macer is also a poet, and Ovid acknowledges that theirs was a friendship that went back many years and was forged early by the travels they undertook together in Asia and in and around Sicily, where they spent almost a year, around 23 BC (*Pont.* 2.10.9-12)⁸⁰. Ovid mentions twice that Macer led the way (*Pont.* 2.10.21-22), an indication perhaps that Macer may have been the elder of the two⁸¹.

Since Ovid provides clues for both the possible paternal (Fabian: *Pont.* 1.2) and possible maternal (Sulpician: *Pont.* 2.11) lineage of his third wife, her relationship to Macer is not likely to be a blood relationship. The key words that suggest Macer's relationship to Ovid's third wife appear in *Pont.* 2.10.10 where Ovid writes: *vel mea quod coniunx non aliena tibi est*⁸². The words *non aliena* are usually interpreted to

⁷⁹ According to Suet., *JC* 6.1, Julius Caesar noted in his funeral oration for his *amita* (paternal aunt) Julia that her mother was a Marcia (daughter of Q. Marcius Rex), which allowed her also to trace her ancestry back to Ancus Marcius. On the Marcii and the *rex* Ancus Marcius, see Farney (2007) 115-117. See Syme (1956) 25 n. 3 on C. Julius Caesar the Dictator and the Marcii Regii.

⁸⁰ White (1992) 216 interprets *Pont.* 2.10.22-30 as evidence that Macer was holding a one-year senatorial position in Sicily, a senatorial province, and that Ovid belonged to his *cohors*. O'Neil (1967) 164, however, considers their trip a "Grand Tour". Wheeler (1925) 21-24 does not suggest a particular reason for Ovid's travels.

⁸¹ White (1992) 212 suggests a birth in the 40s BC for Pompeius Macer. Bertrand (1985) 175-176 suggests 45 BC (and a *praenomen* of Marcus). This date proves problematic if this individual is the one who organized the Palatine library in 28 BC since he would have been only around 20 years old. Pompeius Macer, therefore, may have been born earlier, perhaps in the 50s. White (1992) 212 n. 6 also suggests the possibility that Theophanes adopted someone who was already a Pompeius by birth (Pompeii existed in large numbers at Mytilene). Theophanes had earlier adopted the "Spanish careerist" Cornelius Balbus, an adoption probably dissolved when both men took different sides during the Civil War.

⁸² The text for *Pont.* 2.10.10 is the same in Owen (1915), André (1977), and Goold (1988). Vega (1989) drops the final word *est* from the verse; Helzlsouer (2003) also reads the verse without the final *est* in his commentary.

mean that Ovid's third wife is somehow related to Macer, but a blood kinship is difficult to fit neatly together with the paternal and maternal relationships for his third wife to which Ovid has made reference elsewhere⁸³. A more general interpretation of the words to the effect that his third wife was "not unknown" to Macer (a description of her used only in the poem to Macer) is imprecise — such a general acquaintanceship would apply to almost all of his correspondents, and yet Ovid never uses this phrase to describe his third wife to any of these individuals, friend or foe. Since the word *aliena* can mean, in certain contexts, "someone other than one's own spouse", *non aliena* could mean "someone who is not other than one's own spouse", a circumlocution, perhaps, for someone who is, or has been, someone's own spouse⁸⁴. Propertius uses the phrase *non aliena* in this way when addressing Cynthia (*Prop.* 1.15.32).

⁸³ Ovid uses the present tense (*est*), an indication that he is likely speaking of his third wife and not his first or second wife. *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* I 1571 defines *alienus* as "*non iunctus alicui familia, matrimonio, propinquitate, sanguine, amicitia, civitate*". Helzle (2003) 393-394 interprets *alienus* as someone with whom one has no personal relationship. Scholars, in general, interpret *non aliena* to mean that Ovid was related in some way to Pompeius Macer; see, for example, *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* I 1571; Némethy (1915) 43; Wheeler (1925) 21, n. 34; Marin (1959) 42; Kraus (1968) 73 (on her mother's side); André (1977) 73; Syme (1978) 73; Green (1982) 41; Goold (1988) 367; Helzle (1989a) 183-184; Della Corte (1991) 254; Booth (1991) 183; White (1992) 216; McKeown (1998) 383 (by blood or marriage); and Green (2005) 150. Vega (1989) 223 suggests, however, that the use of *aliena* proves only that Ovid's third wife was not hostile or indifferent to Macer since the adjective does not necessarily imply the idea of kinship. Schwartz (1951) 192-193 suggests that Macer was the father of Ovid's second wife and that Ovid's divorce from her led to a cooling of their relationship. In support of this suggestion, Schwartz (1951) 193-194 claims to have discovered an acrostic, which cannot be accidental, in his opinion. It appears in two parts: (1) the first letters of *Pont.* 2.3.1, *Pont.* 2.4.1, *Pont.* 2.6.1, *Pont.* 2.7.1, and *Pont.* 2.8.1 read MACER; and (2) the first letters of *Pont.* 2.3.2, *Pont.* 2.4.2, *Pont.* 2.6.2, *Pont.* 2.7.2, and *Pont.* 2.8.2 read NATAQ. To achieve the acrostic, one must skip a poem (*Pont.* 2.5.1) and postulate a prior edition of the second book of the *Epistulae ex Ponto* that lacked this poem. Even if this proposed acrostic is deliberate, however, it might be seen to support better, not Schwartz's hypothesis that Ovid was Macer's son-in-law, but the hypothesis proposed here that Ovid's stepdaughter, the daughter of his third wife, is the biological daughter (NATA) of MACER. For other proposed acrostics in Ovid's exilic poetry, see Verdière (1971) 634-635; in *Tr.* 5.8.1-4; and Verdière (1983): in *Tr.* 1.5.1-14 and *Tr.* 4.4.1-8.

⁸⁴ See Treggiari (1991b) 263 for *aliena* as "somebody else's wife" and 279 for *aliena materfamilias* as "another man's wife". Compare Hor., *Sat.* 1.2.57: *cum uxoribus ... alienis* and *Sat.* 2.7.46: *te coniunx aliena capit*. Also compare Ovid's comments on the allure of bedding someone else's spouse: the furrows are always more fruitful, he writes metaphorically, in the fields of someone's else's spouse (*Ars Am.* 1.349: *fertilior seges est alienis semper in agris*). When describing Hero's fears, Ovid has her state that she can bear anything patiently so long as the arms of someone other than Leander's own wife are not encircling his neck (*Her.* 19.103).

He tells her to be whatever she likes but still be *non aliena*, that is, not someone else's spouse (or, perhaps, as close to him as a spouse)⁸⁵. Similarly, Ovid requests that Messalinus place him in whatever category he may choose, so long as Ovid continues to remain for him a *pars ... non aliena* of his *domus*. (*Pont.* 1.7.68). The connection Ovid had to the family of Messalla Corvinus may have been more than literary. Through his marriage to his third wife, who was, I suggest, the granddaughter of Valeria, the sister of Messalinus' father Messalla Corvinus, Ovid would have become related by family to his patron Messalla Corvinus. It is therefore likely that, in his description of his third wife's relationship to Macer in *Pont.* 2.10.10, Ovid is stating that his third wife is "not someone else's spouse". In other words, she is likely Macer's former spouse and connected to him still by the bonds of family relationship that continued to exist even after a divorce⁸⁶.

Macer, furthermore, was probably known to poets in the circle of Messalla Corvinus. The Macer of Ovid's *Pont.* 2.10 is likely the same individual addressed by Tibullus in his poem 2.6⁸⁷. In this poem, which is dated to about 20 BC, Tibullus describes Macer about to abandon the camp of Amor for the camp of the Roman army. Ovid identifies Macer as an epic poet in *Am.* 2.18.1, in *Pont.* 2.10.13, and in *Pont.* 4.16.6⁸⁸. Macer is also likely the same individual Ovid mentioned, in familiar terms, in *Am.* 2.18. In this poem, Ovid describes to Macer an intimate scene involving Ovid's unnamed *puella*, who insists on interrupting the fruitful production of his *ingenium*, that is, his writing of the poems in the *Heroides*, by sitting on his lap and lavishing kisses upon him⁸⁹. The

⁸⁵ The historicity of Cynthia is a vexed question. Cairns (2006) 67 calls her "highly fictionalized and visibly composite"; similarly Wyke (1987), Wyke (2002), and Heyworth (2007) 475. Coarelli (2004) 110-115 regards Cynthia as a real woman, Hostia. See also Keith (2008) 86-114 and Maltby (2002) 42-46.

⁸⁶ Helzlsouer (2003) 391 and 394 has also suggested (without discussion, however) that Macer may be the former husband of Ovid's third wife. Marin (1959) 42 suggests that Ovid's wife was Macer's daughter, which is not likely. He notes also that Theophanes had married a Greek woman and that, therefore, Ovid's third wife had to be Greek also (a possibility for which there is no evidence).

⁸⁷ For this identification, see Hollis (2007) 425 and O'Neil (1967) 165.

⁸⁸ On the identity of the Macer of *Pont.* 2.10 as the Macer of *Am.* 2.18, see Syme (1978) 73, Vega (1989) 221, Booth (1991) 183, Williams (1991) 174, and McKeown (1998) 383.

⁸⁹ This Ovidian scene is reminiscent of a scene described in Hor., *Carm.* 2.12.25-28 where Licymnia is imagined playfully teasing Maecenas and accepting his kisses. For a discussion of whether Licymnia is Terentia (it is possible), see Nisbet & Hubbard (1978) 180-183 and Williams (1968) 299-302. Davis (1975) 70-83, however, argues that Licymnia is not Terentia.

Amores may have been revised and republished as a second edition after AD 1⁹⁰. By means of the reference in *Am.* 2.18.23 to the epistle from Helen to Paris (*Her.* 17), we can date *Am.* 2.18, perhaps, to around AD 4⁹¹. Such a date would mean that Ovid's *puella*, if she is real, could be his third wife, whom he married probably around 1 BC. If Macer is the former spouse of Ovid's third wife, Ovid may be describing to him a playful encounter with Macer's former wife, who is now his own wife.

The practical significance of family linkages that remained after Roman divorces has been undervalued for Ovid although evidence of the importance of such connections can be found in Roman sources⁹². For example, the first elegy ascribed to Lygdamus ([*Tib.*] 3.1), in which Lygdamus addresses his former wife under the name Neaera provides evidence that divorce may have reconfigured a relationship between husband and wife into a sibling relationship after a divorce. Lygdamus, now divorced from Neaera, calls himself her brother ([*Tib.*] 3.1.23). He also swears that even if she is his sister, she remains dearer to him

⁹⁰ See Barchiesi (2001) 159-161 for a discussion about whether there was a second edition of the *Amores*.

⁹¹ The *Heroides* was published in two parts (poems 1-15 perhaps around 15 BC, and poems 16-21 probably between AD 4 and 8). Booth (1991) 183 and McKeown (1998) 385 suggest that *Am.* 2.18 may have appeared for the first time in the second edition. Green (1982) 307, however, suggests that *Am.* 2.18 may belong to the earlier first version.

⁹² Treggiari (2007) 77 notes that Cicero remained on polite terms with his ex-son-in-law Furius Crassipes. Treggiari (2007) 140 notes also that Cicero remained on friendly terms with Dolabella after Tullia's divorce and death (until the relationship cooled when Dolabella broke politically with Cicero and, on a personal level, failed to repay Tullia's dowry). For an analysis of the significance of Livia's own prior marital relationship for Octavian (Augustus), see Huntsman (2009) 151-153 and Shotton (1971). Further evidence that the continuing existence of kinship bonds established by prior marriages was the natural order of things can also be seen, perhaps, in the story of Tiberius' divorce (in 12 BC) from Vipsania Agrippina, a daughter of M. Vipsanius Agrippa and Caecilia Attica, the daughter of Cicero's friend Atticus (Suet., *Tib.* 7.2-3). Vipsania Agrippina was then married to C. Asinius Gallus (cos. 8 BC), who would thus have gained a family connection to Tiberius through Vipsania Agrippina. After the divorce, however, steps were taken to keep Tiberius apart from his former wife, which would have constituted an unnatural severing of the normal bonds of kinship maintained after a divorce. Harlow & Laurence (2002) 92-103 consider the extension of kinship and affinity networks only within marriages, not after divorces. Bradley (1991a) 157 notes the normality of step-relationships as an accepted aspect of Roman family life. Bradley (1991a) 160-161 notes the reality of familial blending as a result of remarriage and also comments (171) on the widespread creation of extensive relationships and the dynamism and fluidity of the upper-class Roman family. Ovid himself, for example, claimed a bond to Suillius because Suillius was the son-in-law of his third wife through his marriage to her daughter, Ovid's stepdaughter (*Pont.* 4.8.9: *adfinia vincula*).

than his own marrow ([Tib.] 3.1.25-26)⁹³. Similarly, 'Turia' is described by her grieving husband as offering to divorce her husband because she has been unable to bear children and to take on the duties and loyalty of a sister (*ILS* 8393, *Laudatio Turiae*, right-hand col. 38-39)⁹⁴. The bonds forged in marriage between spouses, therefore, not only could continue to exist but were reconfigured after the marriages had been dissolved by divorce⁹⁵. Divorce did not eliminate the family relationship formerly established between spouses. A different, but still important, bond remained, and the new relationship also made family connections possible for the new spouse. Hortensius had noted that sharing a wife could create an alliance among three men: the woman's father, her ex-husband, and her current husband⁹⁶. Ovid, accordingly, is now bound to Macer not only by their previous friendship but even more strongly because of the fact that they are kin, linked through marriage to the same woman, who happens to be Macer's former and Ovid's current wife⁹⁷.

⁹³ Antolín (1996) 21-24 discusses modern interpretations of the relationship of Lygdamus and Neaera; his suggestion that *soror* here means "beloved" is not convincing. Luck (1979) 104 comments that *coniunx* and *vir* do not necessarily indicate spouses in Latin love elegy, but the Lygdamus cycle could be seen to indicate otherwise. Parca (1986) 461-462 did not consider the identity of Lygdamus other than to suggest that he is not Ovid writing under a pseudonym.

⁹⁴ For the text, see Wistrand (1976) 26-28.

⁹⁵ Even serious political dissension did not necessarily completely shatter familial bonds and obligations that had been created by marriage. For example, the bond created between Pompey and Julius Caesar by the marriage of Caesar's daughter Julia to Pompey did not dissolve immediately upon her death in 54 BC. Until the civil war began, Caesar had named Pompey in his will as his heir (Suet., *JC* 83.1). After Pompey was assassinated in Egypt, Caesar wept upon seeing the head and signet ring of his former son-in-law (Plut., *Caes.* 48; Dio Cass. 42.7; and Lucan, *Phars.* 9.1037-1039). Dio Cassius and Lucan accuse Caesar of hypocrisy, but his tears are understandable as those a Roman would be expected to shed for a deceased family member. Caesar also punished Pothinus and Achillas for their crime against Pompey (App., *BCiv.* 2.13.90). After Pompey's defeat, Caesar treated Pompey's associates well (Plut., *Caes.* 48). After the civil war, Caesar restored a statue of Pompey that had been destroyed by the people (Suet., *JC* 75.4). A statue of Pompey remained standing in the Curia Pompeii, and Caesar fell murdered at its base in 44 BC. (Plut., *Caes.* 66.1-2).

⁹⁶ See Plut., *Cato Mi.* 25.5. Corbier (1991a) 136 discusses Hortensius' comment and also discusses (93) the comment of Asconius, who noted that having children by the same woman created a solidarity, if not a tie of alliance, between the two fathers. Treggiari (1991b) 412 notes that the Romans conceptualized the structure of the family (both agnatic and cognatic and *affines*) as stretching up, down, and sideways from each individual; she notes also (467) that, if there were children involved after the divorce, the economic interests of former spouses might continue to be linked.

⁹⁷ Huntsman (2009) 147 comments on the situation of Ti. Claudius Nero, Octavian, and Livia: "Giving up one's wife in marriage to a friend or potential friend was not unprecedented".

Given the importance of Macer to Ovid, both as an old friend and, it seems, as a family member by virtue of his former marital relationship to Ovid's third wife, it is important to investigate who he might be⁹⁸. Macer, like Rufus, is a fairly common *cognomen*. But since Macer is a poet, we may narrow down the field. Ovid's Macer cannot be C. Licinius Macer Calvus, the Neoteric poet and friend of Catullus, who died before Ovid was born⁹⁹. Nor can Ovid's Macer be Aemilius Macer, a didactic poet of birds, plants, and snakes (*Tr.* 4.10.43-44) who had died in Asia in 16 BC¹⁰⁰. The most likely candidate for Ovid's Macer is, as Syme and others have argued, Pompeius Macer, the son of Gnaeus Pompeius Theophanes of Mytilene, who was the friend, agent, and historian of Gn. Pompeius Magnus (Pompey the Great)¹⁰¹. Theophanes' son, whose name Pompeius Macer is fully Romanized, was one of the up-and-coming equestrians of the sort favored by Augustus¹⁰². He wrote in Latin, not Greek¹⁰³. He was placed in charge of selecting and organizing the Greek and Latin collections for a state library Augustus founded in 28 BC on the Palatine next to the temple of Apollo (Suet., *JC* 56.7)¹⁰⁴. He may also be the individual (named Marcus Pompeius) created procurator of Asia by Augustus (Strabo, *Geog.* 12.2.3). These Augustan and Pompeian connections, together with his poetic activities, may have made Pompeius Macer originally an attractive first spouse for the daughter of Paullus Fabius Maximus, who was himself a close partisan of Augustus. The reasons for the divorce of Ovid's third wife from her former husband are not known. Some general unhappiness, distance, or adultery were possible reasons, but politics may also have played

⁹⁸ See Murgatroyd (1989) 135-136 n. 6 for a discussion of the identity of Macer.

⁹⁹ Licinius Calvus appears in Catull. 14, 50, 53, and 96.

¹⁰⁰ Wheeler (1925) 21, n. 34. See also Hollis (2007) 425 and O'Neil (1967) 165. It is possible that Ovid's Macer is the son of either Aemilius Macer or Licinius Macer, but whether these two men even had sons is unknown.

¹⁰¹ Syme (1978) 73 argues that Ovid's Macer is Pompeius Macer, as does Wheeler (1925) 21 n. 34; Schwartz (1951); Helzle (1989b) 183; Booth (1991) 183; and Williams (1991) 173 n. 22. In contrast, Green (1982) 27-28; White (1992) 215-218; McKeown (1998) 382-383; and Hollis (2007) 424-425 argue that Macer cannot be Pompeius Macer. White (1992) 216 and 217-218 notes also the rarity of Roman writers having Greek friends.

¹⁰² On the patronage of equestrians and strategies of intercession employed by equestrians, see Saller (1980) and Saller (1982).

¹⁰³ White (1992) 215 n. 19 notes that *Anth. Pal.* 7.219 and 9.28 have been attributed to Pompeius Macer.

¹⁰⁴ See White (1992) 211-214 and Dix (1994) 296 n. 44. White (1992) 215 notes that Pompeius Macer lived to see his son become the first known Roman senator of Greek origin.

some role¹⁰⁵. Pompeius Macer was counted among the chief friends of Tiberius (Strabo, *Geog.* 12.2)¹⁰⁶. How long Pompeius Macer had actually been reckoned among the partisans of Tiberius is unknown, but the possibility exists that a growing allegiance to Tiberius may have been a reason for his divorce from Ovid's third wife¹⁰⁷. If Ovid's third wife was in a marriage *sine manu* with Pompeius Macer and still subject to the *patria potestas* of her father (a likely situation), her divorce from Pompeius Macer may have resulted from the alleged fact that Paullus Fabius Maximus, the father of Ovid's third wife, was an enemy of Tiberius¹⁰⁸. The divorce, however, could not break the family bond that had originally been formed by the marriage. Pompeius Macer and his former wife remained related by family ties, that is, individuals related by bonds created not by a blood relationship but by their former marriage relationship. Another link existed in the form of the daughter born in this marriage. If Ovid's third wife was Macer's former wife, Macer is, therefore, likely the father of his third wife's daughter, Ovid's own stepdaughter, who probably lived not with Ovid's third wife but with her own father before marrying Suillius¹⁰⁹. Because of his third wife's continuing

¹⁰⁵ See Treggiari (1991b) 461 on grounds for divorce; Treggiari (1991b) 478-479 on divorces to gain political advantage or new alliances; and Treggiari (1991b) 92 on new achievements in politics meaning new marriages.

¹⁰⁶ For the Tiberian connection, see also Syme (1978) 73 and Helzlsouer (1989b) 183.

¹⁰⁷ See Syme (1978) 146 and Helzlsouer (1989b) 138.

¹⁰⁸ Syme (1986) 172, 408, and 428 notes that Tiberius seems to have counted Paullus Fabius Maximus an enemy because he married Marcia, a first cousin of Augustus. See also Barchiesi (1997) 267. If the story is true that Paullus Fabius Maximus accompanied Augustus in AD 14 on his secret visit to Planasia, it might also indicate Paullus Fabius Maximus' hostility to the claims of Tiberius to succeed Augustus even though Augustus seems to have resigned himself, at this late stage, to the reality of Tiberius succeeding him because Agrippa Postumus, his only remaining biological grandson, was neither suitable nor experienced enough to serve as *princeps*.

¹⁰⁹ We know little about Ovid's stepdaughter beyond what Ovid writes in his poems from exile. She was close to his third wife, and she was married to Suillius, a partisan of Germanicus. André (1977) xxvii suggests a marriage date for Ovid's stepdaughter of later than around AD 5. Tac., *Ann.* 6.18 recounts the disaster that later overtook the descendants of Theophanes in AD 33. Della Corte (1975-1976) works backwards from the name of the son of Ovid's stepdaughter and Suillius, M. Suillius Nerullinus (cos. AD 50), suggesting that the *cognomen* Nerullinus is a reference to his mother, whose name must therefore have been Nerulla. Luisi (2003) 114-118 and 119 also calls Ovid's stepdaughter Nerulla. Syme (1978) 90 suggests a more reasonable possibility: the *cognomen* Nerullinus may simply advertise loyalty to the Claudii (Nerullinus' father Suillius was a partisan of Nero Claudius Germanicus, the nephew of Tiberius). Della Corte (1991) 257 suggests Ovid's stepdaughter was born around 10 BC, which is a reasonable supposition. Kavanagh (2010) 276, following Syme, suggests a birth date for Suillius of between 10 BC and 7 BC.

kinship with her former husband, Ovid could claim a connection to Macer even stronger than the close and early friendship they shared — although it appears that their relationship, like that of Ovid's relationship to Paullus Fabius Maximus, may have cooled somewhat over time¹¹⁰. Ovid bitterly criticizes the unnamed addressee of *Tr.* 1.8.45-46 (who is possibly Pompeius Macer), using the word *alienus*, because he avoided Ovid before he was forced to leave Rome for exile:¹¹¹

aut mala nostra minus quam nunc aliena putares,
duritiaeque mihi non agerere reus.

Or would you now be reckoning that my woes are less than those of someone unrelated through a spouse, and would you not be led forward as a defendant on a charge of hardheartedness toward me?

As his old friend, but more importantly as a family member, Macer would have been expected by Ovid to show visible support for him at the time of his *relegatio*. That Macer did not, it seems, have the courage to do so would have been a bitter blow to Ovid but one possibly only temporary. Although Ovid curtly reminds Macer, who is likely kin by marriage, at the end of the poem to see to it that he takes up Ovid's cause now that he is gone (*Tr.* 1.8.49-50), the sharp reminder is not without the implied offer of future forgiveness.

THE PROPOSED FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS OF OVID'S THIRD WIFE: A SUMMARY

Ovid's poems from exile present important clues about the family relationships of Ovid's third wife that allow us to place her (and Ovid) within the nexus of the aristocratic Roman social and literary relationships of their time. Ovid's third wife is certainly of the *gens Fabia* and most likely the daughter of Paullus Fabius Maximus, who was a friend and confidant of Augustus and a dabbler in poetry himself. Because Ovid makes it clear that his third wife was in the position of beloved *comes*, not *nata*, to Marcia, who was probably not the first wife of Paullus Fabius Maximus, it is likely that his third wife was a stepdaughter of Marcia.

¹¹⁰ Schwartz (1951) 191 suggests a possible cooling of their relationship or even a break. Ovid's turning to other well-connected allies whom he had not addressed earlier, notably Sex. Pompeius (cos. AD 14), in the fourth book of the *Epistulae ex Ponto* may be evidence that he was near to exhausting all available avenues of assistance.

¹¹¹ Wheeler (1924) xiv and Green (2005) 216 also suggest that Macer is the addressee of *Tr.* 1.8.

The relationship between Ovid's third wife and Marcia was affectionate and long lasting, and Marcia was held up by Ovid as a model for his third wife to follow. The relationship between Ovid and his father-in-law Paullus Fabius Maximus appears to have been cool only after his *relegatio*, and Paullus Fabius Maximus, for most of Ovid's period in exile, tried to distance himself from Ovid, likely because of his own close relationship to Augustus. Paullus Fabius Maximus, however, had no choice but to receive his daughter back into his house after Ovid's departure for Tomis. Her efforts to gain his assistance in support of Ovid's request for a change of venue for his *relegatio*, it seems, had begun finally to have their desired effect by the summer of AD 14, but Paullus Fabius Maximus died, under strange circumstances, before he was able to achieve the desired amelioration of Ovid's punishment by Augustus.

The identity of the mother of Ovid's third wife, who must have been the first wife of Paullus Fabius Maximus (or a wife prior to Marcia), depends on the identity of the man whom Ovid calls only by his *cognomen* Rufus and whom he identifies as the maternal uncle of his third wife. The best candidate for the identity of Rufus appears to be Ser. Sulpicius Rufus the poet, a writer of both elegiac and lyric poetry, who was the son of Ser. Sulpicius Rufus the orator and Valeria, the sister of Messalla Corvinus. Ovid's third wife thus had family associations not only with the *gens Fabia* on her paternal side but also with the *gens Sulpicia* and the *gens Valeria* on her maternal side. Ser. Sulpicius Rufus the poet, the maternal uncle of his third wife, unlike her father Paullus Fabius Maximus, never, it seems, tried to distance himself from Ovid after his *relegatio*, and he did not refuse to help Ovid, even though assisting him potentially meant raising the ire of the *princeps*. Ser. Sulpicius Rufus the poet counselled and actively guided his niece, and she is said to have resembled him in her literary interests. The mother of Ovid's third wife, Sulpicia the poet, the sister of Ser. Sulpicius Rufus the poet, would then be Ovid's third mother-in-law.

If Paullus Fabius Maximus and Ser. Sulpicius Rufus the poet represent the paternal and the maternal sides of the family of Ovid's third wife, Pompeius Macer would likely represent a prior marital relationship. Pompeius Macer was a partisan of Augustus whose scholarly interests must have been considered to be favorable qualities for a potential spouse by both the father of Ovid's third wife and by his third wife herself. This marriage produced a daughter (Ovid's stepdaughter). As a member of the *gens Pompeia*, Macer was related by extended family

relationships both to Augustus and Livia¹¹². In addition, by means of his family link to Macer, who belonged to *gens Pompeia*, Ovid could also claim a family link with Sex. Pompeius (cos. AD 14), to whom he would appeal in the final book of the *Epistulae ex Ponto*. Sex. Pompeius was related to Augustus and was possibly also the son of Marcia by a marriage prior to her marriage to Paullus Fabius Maximus¹¹³. If, as seems likely, Paullus Fabius Maximus, an alleged enemy of Tiberius, found Macer becoming, over time, too Claudian in his political leanings, he may have arranged the divorce of his daughter from Pompeius Macer and a subsequent marriage, perhaps around 1 BC to Ovid, a cultured, wealthy, well-born, and well-established equestrian, the kind of man considered even by Augustus when he was searching for a third husband for Julia (Suet., *Aug.* 63.2). The divorce of Ovid's third wife from Pompeius Macer, however, did not break the bonds of kinship that had been established between them by their marriage. After Ovid married Macer's former wife, he was able to call himself not only a friend to Macer but also a relative by virtue of the prior marriage of his third wife to Macer. It is possible that Ovid's *relegatio* caused these bonds with Macer to weaken for political reasons. As a son of Sulmo and as the only Augustan poet, to our knowledge, who could claim a family relationship by marriage (through his third wife) to the *princeps*, Ovid seems to have had great sympathies for Julian interests¹¹⁴. As maneuverings regarding the Augustan succession (such as the adoptions of AD 4 and the exile of Agrippa Postumus in AD 7) began in earnest, Ovid may have found

¹¹² Augustus' family relationships to the Pompeii derive, in part, from his second wife Scribonia (I), who was the sister of L. Scribonius Libo (cos. 34 BC). The niece of Scribonia (I), Scribonia (II), had married Sex. Pompeius, the son of Pompey the Great. Livia's family connection to the Pompeii came through the brother of Scribonia (II), M. Livius L. f. Drusus Libo (cos. 15 BC), who may have been adopted into the family of Livia. See Syme (1986) Genealogical Table XIV and Barrett (2002) 14-15, who notes the irony that Livia's stepbrother was the nephew of her husband's first wife.

¹¹³ According to Dio Cass. 56.29.5, Sex. Pompeius was related in some way to the family of Augustus. Syme (1986) 263 and 414 suggests that the relationship came perhaps through the Marcii or the Appuleii. Syme also postulates that Ovid's Sex. Pompeius was the grandson of Sex. Pompeius (cos. 35 BC), who was a first cousin of Pompey the Great. Syme (1978) 158-159 mentions the possibility that Sex. Pompeius may be Marcia's son but is not completely convinced of such a relationship. Sex. Pompeius, the father of the consular Sex. Pompeius, has left no trace, according to Syme (1978) 158.

¹¹⁴ Sulmo had supported Julius Caesar in 49 BC, and Ovid's description of the assassination and apotheosis of Julius Caesar in *Met.* 15.745-870 and *Fast.* 3.697-710 is sympathetic. Ovid was not unknown to Augustus; see *Tr.* 2.89-90 and Ingleheart (2010) 114-115. Millar (1993) 6-9 argues convincingly that Ovid should be seen not as a subversive dissident but as an outraged loyalist whom the Augustan regime had rejected.

himself somewhat at odds with Pompeius Macer, who appears to have supported Claudian interests.

The marriage of Ovid and the elder daughter of Paullus Fabius Maximus was, by Ovid's own account, a happy one until Ovid ran afoul of Augustus, suffering permanent *relegatio* to Tomis on the Black Sea. Although his third wife wished to accompany him into exile (*Tr.* 1.3.81-86), he chose to leave her behind to work, to no avail as it would turn out, on his behalf¹¹⁵. Ovid's third wife, I suggest, was related to an important family of Roman poets, which included her uncle Ser. Sulpicius Rufus the poet and her mother Sulpicia the poet. She was also married, twice, to men who were poets, Pompeius Macer and Ovid. She herself may also have written elegiac poetry. She probably survived Ovid, who died in exile (a fate he feared) after the autumn of AD 16¹¹⁶. Although Ovid could not provide her real name for posterity, he provides enough clues to allow reasonable conjectures about the identity of her family¹¹⁷. These clues add greater depth to the portrait Ovid created of her family and her place within it and deeper understanding of the ways in which Ovid tried to exploit the family associations of his third wife in his exilic poetry in his efforts to win a more congenial spot in which to spend the remaining years of his *relegatio*.

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¹¹⁵ Ovid's third wife is not addressed in the fourth and final book of the *Epistulae ex Ponto* (although Ovid undoubtedly continued to write prose letters to her). Helzle (1989a) 190 suggests that Ovid's wife joined him in exile in Tomis. Although this is possible, it seems unlikely. Ovid never mentions that his third wife is expected in Tomis or that she has arrived in Tomis — her appearance there would have signalled the end of his hope to secure a change of venue for his exile. Ovid remains optimistic about this possibility throughout the final book of the *Epistulae ex Ponto*.

¹¹⁶ The final datable reference in Ovid's poems from exile appears in *Pont.* 4.9.

¹¹⁷ Ovid honored his third wife's refusal to be named openly in his exilic poems (*Tr.* 4.3.53-56 and *Tr.* 5.5.59-60). Helzle (1989a) 184 suggests that the name of Ovid's third wife was "Fabia Ovidii". Puccini-Delbey (2000) calls Ovid's third wife "Fabia". Because both the sister (Fabia Paullina) and the daughter of Paullus Fabius Maximus by Marcia (Fabia Numantina) had *cognomina* and because *cognomina* for girls were in vogue in the Julio-Claudian period among aristocratic families, it is possible that Ovid's third wife also had a *cognomen*. It is impossible to know for certain what her *cognomen* may have been, but given the acknowledgment of maternal lineage in female naming in the Julio-Claudian period and her close relationship with her uncle Rufus, identified here possibly as Ser. Sulpicius Rufus the poet, a *cognomen* for Ovid's third wife may have somehow reflected her maternal lineage. See Saller (1984) 355 on the increasing importance of including relatives traced through females.

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FLAVIA DOMITILLA AS *DELICATA*:
A NEW INTERPRETATION OF SUETONIUS, *VESP.* 3*

Abstract: This paper proposes a new interpretation of the passage in Suetonius' Life of Vespasian (Suet., *Vesp.* 3). The ancient historian, talking about Flavia Domitilla, the wife of Vespasian and the mother of Titus and Domitian, defines her as *delicata* of Statilius Capella, the Roman knight from Sabratha. Until now, scholars have thought that the relationship between Flavia Domitilla and Statilius Capella was sexual in nature, on the basis of the literary sources concerning the adjective *delicatus/a* and its meaning. Thanks to the epigraphic evidence about the *delicati*, not yet analyzed in reference to this passage, it is possible to reach to new conclusions about Flavia Domitilla's status. The paper reviews her relationship with Statilius Capella, the sentence of the *recuperatores* who declared her *ingenua* and consequently Roman citizen (and not vice versa), and the role played in this trial by Flavius Liberalis.

Inter haec Flaviam Domitillam duxit uxorem, Statili Capellae equitis R(omani) Sabratensis ex Africa delicatam olim Latinaeque conditionis, sed mox ingenuam et civem Rom(anam) recipatorio iudicio pronuntiatam, patre asserente Flavio Liberale Ferenti genito nec quicquam amplius quam quaestorio scriba. Ex hac liberos tulit Titum et Domitianum et Domitillam. Uxori ac filiae superstes fuit atque utramque adhuc privatus¹.

In this way Suetonius informs us about Flavia Domitilla², the wife of Vespasian and the mother of Titus and Domitian. This evidence of Suetonius is of particular importance because it constitutes the only information about her. In fact, apart from the *Epitome de Caesaribus*, where we find a brief reference to Flavia Domitilla, Suetonius represents the only known source about her life.

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¹ Suet., *Vesp.* 3. Regarding the text, I followed the edition of the *Belles Lettres*, ed. Ailloud (1954).

² On her, see: Stein (1909a) 2732 no. 226, (1943a) 187-188 no. 416; Raepsaet-Charlier (1987) 319-321 no. 367; Barrett (2005) 385-396; Cenerini (2009) 83-87. Furthermore, on the marriage and the honors attributed to her *post mortem*, see: Cuq (1884) 161-164; Veyne 1962 49-98; Ritter (1972) 759-761; Kienast (1989) 141-147; Rosso (2007) 143-146; and Wood (2010) 45-57.

The ancient historian tells us that, during the crucial years of his political rise³, Vespasian married⁴ Flavia Domitilla, a former *delicata* of Statilius Capella⁵, a Roman knight from Sabratha, in Africa. Since she was of Latin status, she was declared *ingenua* and a Roman citizen by the body of *recuperatores*⁶. The lawsuit was brought by her father Flavius Liberalis⁷, a *quaestorius scriba*, in order to recognize her as his daughter. Flavia Domitilla bore her husband three children, Titus and Domitian, who succeeded their father as emperors, and Flavia Domitilla, who, like her mother, died before Vespasian had been proclaimed Emperor⁸.

Suetonius reports only three fundamental events of the life of Flavia Domitilla before her marriage to the future Emperor:

1. She had been a *delicata* of a Roman knight.
2. She was of Latin status.
3. She was declared *ingenua* and a Roman citizen by the court of *recuperatores*.

Clearly Suetonius, in describing the life of Domitilla, did not consider her worth a more detailed focus; in fact, he presents her life as comparable to that of a common woman: birth, marriage, maternity and death⁹. This omission contrasts with the descriptions of the *Augustae*, whose vicissitudes are known thanks to Suetonius and other ancient historians, probably because Flavia Domitilla died before her husband had been proclaimed Emperor¹⁰. The women of the Flavian dynasty have been defined as “mujeres invisibles” because they do not show evidence of strong personalities. In particular, they do not seem to have had political power, because their role was perhaps obscured by an established

³ About this, see Suet., *Vesp.* 2: the *incipit* of the next chapter is bound to this passage. On the problematic stages of the career of Vespasian: Weinand (1909) 2623-2729 no. 206; Braithwaite (1927) 23-30; Graf (1937) 11-21; de Laet (1941) 118 no. 621; Stein (1943) 180-183 no. 398; Homo (1949) 16-24; Chastagnol (1976) 253-256; Nicols (1978) 1-26; Levick (1991) 239-244, (1999) 4-64; Ramondetti (2008) 1363 n. 12.

⁴ On the date of the marriage, whose the *terminus ante quem* is the beginning of AD 39 (Titus was born on the 30th of December of the same year): Graf (1937) 115 n. 76; Homo (1949) 184.

⁵ There is no other information on him; about this, see De Rohden & Dessau (1898) 259 no. 592 and Stein (1929) 2190 no. 14.

⁶ See *infra*.

⁷ There is no other information on him: cf. Stein (1909b) 2604 no. 115, (1943c) 157 no. 302.

⁸ On the exact birth order of the children, on which the scholars are in doubt, see Townend (1961) 54-62, esp. 58 and Nicols (1978) 9.

⁹ On this matter of the life of the women, see Cenerini (2002) 11-28.

¹⁰ On this, see Cenerini (2002) 73-123.

succession¹¹. For Flavia Domitilla, the brief description of the life and the details about the lawsuit could suggest the possibility that Suetonius had access to official documentation, as demonstrated by analysis of some passages of his work¹². Despite this meagre information, I believe that it is possible to get a better understanding of the status of Flavia Domitilla by examining a wider body of evidence.

In the past, many scholars have dealt with the complex issue of the life of Flavia Domitilla. Although aware of the lack of documentation, they have proposed some hypotheses: in particular, they have focused on the reason why Domitilla was of Latin status.

According to Braithwaite, Flavia Domitilla enjoyed free birth¹³. According to Ritter, the wife of Vespasian was manumitted informally without meeting the requirements of the *lex Aelia Sentia*, based on the passage in *Epitome de Caesaribus*¹⁴ in which it is said that Titus and Domitian were born to a freed mother. Flavia Domitilla would have achieved the *Latinitas Iuniana*, and subsequently the citizenship *pleno iure*, as soon as Flavius Liberalis had recognized her as his daughter¹⁵. Evans, Jones and Barrett¹⁶ assume that Flavia Domitilla fell into slavery during her childhood. Barbara Levick, however, in agreement with Gardner, suggests two possibilities: first, Levick conjectures that Flavia Domitilla was born of a relationship between Flavius Liberalis and an unknown concubine, who had been manumitted by the *lex Aelia Sentia*, and was therefore of Latin status. Levick herself, however, doubts this assumption, because Suetonius informs us about a claim of free birth¹⁷. Second, she assumes that Flavius Liberalis manumitted his daughter as Latin according to the *lex Aelia Sentia*. In order to enable Flavia Domitilla to marry Vespasian, Flavius Liberalis probably claimed a *vindicatio ex libertinate in ingenuitatem*¹⁸, which was absolutely necessary to overcome the restrictions imposed by the *lex Iulia de maritandis*

¹¹ Hidalgo de la Vega (2003) 47-72; Barrett (2005) 385-386; Cenerini (2009) 83-84.

¹² In particular, on the surveys about the birth of Vespasian, with related inspections: Tambroni (1931) 388; Ailloud (1954) ix and xxii-xxiii; Della Corte (1967) 146.

¹³ Braithwaite (1927).

¹⁴ Aur. Vict. 10,1 e 11,1.

¹⁵ Ritter (1972) 759-761; moreover the scholar sustains that what is affirmed in the *Epitome* may be a misunderstanding of the text of Suetonius.

¹⁶ Evans (1979) 201 n. 2; Jones (1984) 3 n. 10; Barrett (2005) 388.

¹⁷ Levick (1999) 12. See also Veyne (1962) 50 n. 2, who mentions a marriage between Flavius Liberalis and a *Iuniana Latina*, from whom Flavia Domitilla would have inherited the status.

¹⁸ Levick (1999) 12.

*ordinibus*¹⁹. However, Evans proposes that Vespasian might have been exempt from this law, thanks to his ties with the imperial court²⁰. Levick also explains the marriage as a familiar strategy, through which the lineage and property would have been preserved. She focuses on the origin of Flavius Liberalis who was from *Ferentium*²¹, a town between Reate and Cosa. Since the *gens Flavia* held some possessions there, she believes that the marriage was a union between relatives, as was custom among the aristocratic classes, with the aim to prevent the dispersal of assets²². A similar perspective is proposed by Gardner, to whom Levick refers: supposing that Flavius Liberalis was a Roman citizen, she emphasizes that he cannot possibly have married a *Latina Iuniana*²³ and begotten legitimate children from such a union. Therefore, she considers Flavia Domitilla to be an exposed child, who was then manumitted as *Latina Juniana* and claimed *ingenua* by the *causa liberalis*, which had been initiated by her father. Flavius Liberalis could have claimed the

¹⁹ This law which seems to have been enacted in about 18 BC prohibited the marriage and the engagement of a senator or his male descendants in a direct line to the third degree with a *libertina*, with a woman whose father and mother were actors, and with a prostitute; it also forbade the daughters, grandchildren and great-grandchildren in male direct line (although adoptive) of senators to marry a freedman. Cf. *FIRA* I², no. 40, 1, 57 for the date; also: *D.* 23, 2, 23; 32; 44, 1-8; 47; 49; 58; *Tit. ex Corp. Ulp.* 13, 1 and 16, 2; *C.I.* 5, 4, 28 pr. and 5, 27, 1 (336). With Augustan overtones it was the successive *lex Papia Poppæa nuptialis* about AD 9, which repeated the prohibitions of the previous law, so that the classical jurists mention them as *lex Iulia et Papia*. See: Astolfi (1996), in particular 98-102 for the marriage bans to the senatorial order. A detailed list of the legal texts and the literary sources is in Albanese (1979) 59-61. Moreover, on the Augustan marriage legislation: Rotondi (1912) 443-457; Arangio-Ruiz (1938) 101-146; Biondi (1939) 141-262, (1946) 103-223; Csillag (1968) 111-138; Frank (1975) 41-52; Csillag (1976); Raditsa (1980) 278-339; Galinsky (1981) 26-144; Della Corte (1982) 539-558; Zablocka (1986) 379-410; Spagnuolo Vigorita (1998); Fayer (2005) 151-153 and *passim*.

²⁰ Evans (1979) 201 n. 2.

²¹ On *Ferentium*, the old Etruscan town of *Volsinii*, promoted to *municipium* about I BC, and its archaeological remains (in particular the theater and thermae of Augustan age), see Migliorati (1988) 68.

²² The scholar highlights the lost economic benefits, since the period of poverty after the marriage: Levick (1999) 13 and 24. On this matter, see Suet., *Vesp.* 4.3 who tells about the activity of Vespasian as seller of mules. About this and the use of the adjective *mangonicus*, from the substantive *mango*, by Suetonius and Pliny the Elder (*Nat. Hist.* 21.170); *ThLL* VIII 300, col. 73. According to some scholars, perhaps Vespasian supplied the court of Nero with particularly required donkeys and mules (Suet., *Nero* 30.3; Plin., *nat. hist.* 8.167; Dio Cass. 62.28.1); Andreau (1987) 436-437; Nicols (1978) 10-11. According to Levick (1999) 24 it might be a tradition of anti-Flavian propaganda. Cf. also Bosworth (2002) 350-357. The economic difficulties are mentioned also by Suet., *Tit.* 1 and *Dom.* 1.1: see Ramondetti (2008) 1418 n. 8 and 1444 n. 5.

²³ Gardner (1986b) 223. See Levick (1999) 212 n. 21.

free birth in one of two ways: either by *testatio* (a written statement) or by declaring he had married a woman of Latin status²⁴. This would have given in any offspring the protection of citizenship, since he was a Roman citizen, despite considering himself to be of Latin status instead.

Not all these hypotheses can be true. Knowledge of the legal sources seems to be relevant in this issue, as Volterra writes concerning other fields of studies: “giuristi e storici hanno lavorato indipendentemente gli uni dagli altri, quasi sempre ignorando le conclusioni cui erano giunti gli studiosi precedenti”²⁵; he also adds that the scholars have taken “dalle fonti extragiuridiche conclusioni che difficilmente si conciliano con le norme e con gli istituti del diritto romano”²⁶.

Among the many possibilities that have been proposed, scholars have turned to the *lex Aelia Sentia*, to the *Latinitas Iuniana* and to other related policies.

The matter concerning the *lex Aelia Sentia* and the *lex Iunia Norbana* has been, for a long time, subject of debate among the scholars who have tried to explain the contradictions of the legal texts²⁷. On that ground, I think it is of importance to examine those laws in detail.

These Augustan legislations were issued to delay manumissions, often used for fraudulent purposes²⁸. The *lex Aelia Sentia*²⁹ (AD 4), together with the previous *Fufia Caninia* (2 BC)³⁰, introduced precautionary measures to put a stop to these kinds of manumissions: the slaves could not be manumitted under the age of thirty and the owners had to be at least twenty. Exceptions were allowed if the procedure of manumission was *vindicta* or if there was a *iusta causa* brought before a *consilium*³¹. In Rome this was composed of five senators and five knights and it was

²⁴ Gardner (1986a) 1-14 but, in particular, p. 3; Ead. (1986b) 4.

²⁵ Volterra (1951) 647.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ Albanese (1979) 51.

²⁸ Augustus himself in the *Res Gestae* (2.12) refers to the introduction of *novae leges* regulating the status of new citizens. See for this De Francisci (1930) 11-43; Biondi (1939) 77-188; Atkinson (1966) 356-379; Balestri Fumagalli (1985) 4-5.

²⁹ Gaius 1.18-20; 29-32a; 37-41; 47; 66; 68-71; 80; *Tit. ex Corp. Ulp.* 1.12-15 and 3.3-4; *Epit. Gai* 1.1.5-7; *J.* 1.6; *D.* 1.10.1.2; *D.* 28.5.5; 58; 61; *D.* 40.1; *D.* 40.2; *D.* 40.9; *C.J.* 6.21.4 (222); *C.J.* 7.1.1 (211); *C.J.* 7.4.5 (222?); *C.J.* 7.11.1 (223); *nov.* 119.2 (544). On this law: Metro (1961) 147-200; López Barja de Quiroga (2007) 75-82, with earlier bibliography.

³⁰ On the *lex Fufia Caninia*: Rotondi (1912) 454ff.; Leonhard (1925) 2355ff.; Longo (1963) 808; Gardner (1991) 21-39.

³¹ On this *consilium* with the appointment of *probare*, *adprobare causam*: Gaius 1.18; 29; 38; 41.

chaired by the magistrate responsible for the *manumissio vindicta*; in the provinces, the *consilium* consisted of twenty local citizens, who had to demonstrate that they were qualified to be party to it. There are several examples of *iustae causae*: when there was a blood tie between *dominus* and *servus/a*; when there was a relationship between the *servus* and his *paedagogus* or between the *dominus* and his *alumnus*; when the people involved were *collectanei*; when the *dominus* was particularly affectionate towards his *servus*; when the *dominus* wanted to employ his *servus* as a *procurator* or intended to marry his slave girl³². Manumissions executed by owners under twenty years of age were always void, whereas manumissions of slaves, who were under thirty, especially if accomplished through the form of *testamento*, did not warrant the *iusta libertas* and the *civitas*. In that case the freedmen were classed as *Latini coloniarii*, also called *Latini ex Aelia Sentia*. As for the praetorian manumissions³³, even the *lex Iunia (Norbana?) de manumissionibus* (AD 19) was issued³⁴. This law established that this kind of manumission was fully warranted and that the ex-slaves were *liberi* by law, although not *cives*: their condition was similar to that of the *Latini coloniarii*, but they were called *Latini Iuniani*³⁵. Moreover, the *lex Aelia Sentia* set down that a *Latinus Iunianus* who married either a Roman woman, a *Latina*

³² Gaius 1.19; 39; *J.* 1.6.5; *Epit. Gai.* 1.1.7; *D.* 40.2.9 pr.; 11; 12; 13; 14 pr.; 20.3.

³³ As we know, in addition to the *iustae manumissiones* there were the so-called praetorian manumissions, which consisted of acts of the master, not recognized by the *ius civile* but only by the *ius honorarium*: in this respect Wlassak (1905) 367; Buckland (1908) 444-448; Eisele (1912) 64; Duff (1928) 210; Weiss (1930) 1366-1377; Biscardi (1939); Volterra (1956) 695-716; Castello (1962) 213-296; Impallomeni (1963); De Dominicis (1964) 191-198; Albanese (1962) 5-98; Biscardi (1966) 396-407; Albanese (1970) 19-30; Robleda (1976) 135-142; Rodriguez Alvarez (1978).

³⁴ By way of example, see: Gaius 1.22; 3.56; *Tit. ex Corp. Ulp.* 1.5; *Fragm. Dosith.* 6. On the questions related to the *latinitas*: Gaius 1.12; 16-17; 22-24; 28-35; 41; 56-57; 66-73; 79-81; 95-96; 131; 167; 2.110; 275; 3.55-76; *Tit. ex Corp. Ulp.* 1.5; 10; 12 and 16; 3.1-6; 5.4 and 9; 7.4; 11.16; 17.1; 19.4; 20.8; 20.14; 22.3 and 8; 25.7; *F. V.* 172 (= *P. S.* 2.27.6); *F. V.* 193; *Fragm. Dosith.* 5-9; 11-14 and 16; *Epit. Gai.* 1.1.2-4; *C.I.* 7.6.1.1 and 1b; *J.* 1.5.3 and 3.7.4. See Albanese (1979) 53. On this law: Cantarelli (1882) 3-31 and (1883) 41-117; De Dominicis (1973) 313-324; Balestri Fumagalli (1985); Fayer (2005) 382 and *passim*. On the matter concerning the date and the name of the law, see: Cantarelli (1885) 38-55; De Dominicis (1965) 558-574, with previous bibliography, and Balestri Fumagalli (1985) 7-10. On the possibility that this law could have preceded the *lex Aelia Sentia*, see Karlowa (1885) 621.

³⁵ On the *Latini Iuniani*: Castello (1951) 86; De Visscher (1955) 239-251; De Dominicis (1965) 558-574, (1973); Albanese (1979) 187-189; Weaver (1990) 275-305, (1991) 166-190; Gardner (1993) 39-41; Weaver (1997) 55-72; Terreni (1999) 333-367; Corbier (2006) 339-351 and, in particular, 341-344.

coloniaria or a *Latina Iuniana* could acquire Roman citizenship for all members of his family, but only on the condition that the marriage produced a child, who then had to be one year old: for this reason, this procedure was called *anniculi causae probatio*³⁶. Therefore, the *Latinus*, who was manumitted under thirty without the prerequisites of the law, made a *testatio*, namely an oral or written declaration, in the presence of seven (or more) witnesses, all Roman adult citizens, expressing his wish to enter into a contract of valid marriage³⁷. The *Latinus* was asked to file this declaration with the praetor in Rome, and with the governor in the provinces, showing that he had a one year old child from that marriage. Later, this procedure was available to all *Latini Iuniani* thanks to a *senatusconsultum* in the time of Vespasian³⁸. On the basis of a *senatusconsultum*, in the time of Hadrian, later integrated with imperial rescripts, another institute was introduced, called *erroris causae probatio*³⁹. It compensated for any mistakes in the status⁴⁰ of one either one of the two spouses, but only for couples with children, regardless of their age. This procedure granted citizenship to the offspring and to the spouse⁴¹.

Returning to the life of Flavia Domitilla, it is clear that the assumptions proposed by the scholars are not in accordance with the rules and the policies of Roman law. The institution of *anniculi causae probatio* is not convincing enough to answer this issue, since Flavius Liberalis would have been a *Latinus Iunianus* and therefore able to claim only *civitas Romana* for his daughter and not *ingenuitas*. In any case the

³⁶ Gaius 1.29; 66; 69-71; 80. See also Albanese (1979) 187; Fayer (2005) 383-384.

³⁷ The *testatio* was only for evidentiary purposes and had no constitutive function of the marriage itself; in this regard: Karabélias (1984) 599-603; see Fayer (2005) 383 n. 197, with previous bibliography.

³⁸ Gaius 1.29-32a; *Tit. ex Corp. Ulp.* 3.4; see also Gaius 1.66; 80; 3.5 (= *Coll.* 16.2.5); 3.73; *Coll.* 16.3.7 and 15. On the dating of the *senatusconsultum*, see: *J.* 2.23.5; also Gaius 2.254; *Epit. Gai* 2.7 pr.; *Tit. ex Corp. Ulp.* 25.14-15; *P.S.* 4.3. On this matter: Albanese (1979) 187.

³⁹ Gaius 1.67-75; *Tit. ex Corp. Ulp.* 7.4; Gaius 2.142-143; 3.73; *Tit. ex Corp. Ulp.* 5.9; *Coll.* 16.3.7 (= *P.S.* 4.8.7). See Albanese (1979) 188-189.

⁴⁰ Attested cases are numerous; for example when a Roman marries a peregrine; when a Roman marries a Latin woman without *conubium*, believing by mistake that she was a Roman; when a Roman woman marries a peregrine who believes to be a Roman citizen; when a Roman woman marries a Latin by the *lex Aelia Sentia*; when a Roman man, who believes to be peregrine or Latin, marries a peregrine or a Latin. For all the other cases, see: Albanese (1979) 188-189.

⁴¹ The Latin father who became a Roman citizen, achieved *potestas* on his own children, but just in the case he was *sui iuris*; if he was *alieni iuris*, the children were subject to the paternal power of his father. See Gaius 1.67-72; 2.142-143; *Tit. ex Corp. Ulp.* 7.4. Also, Albanese (1979) 188 n. 59.

Latini Iuniani could not be declared *ingenui*, but only *cives*. Moreover, this process could only take place before the praetor in Rome and the governor in the provinces, and could only grant *civitas*; however, Suetonius informs us about a *iudicium* of the *recuperatores*. The hypothesis that Flavius Liberalis married a Latin woman, since he considered himself of Latin status and not a Roman citizen, does not appear convincing. In fact, the institution of *erroris causae probatio*, perhaps developed in the time of Hadrian⁴², warranted only the achievement of *civitas*, not *ingenuitas*. The condition of these children, born in these 'illegal' marriages was not different from that of the children born into *iustae nuptiae*, especially concerning matters of inheritance. Despite this equality, these children were, however, hardly ever considered citizens.

Among the hypotheses suggested about the life of Flavia Domitilla, no account is taken of Suetonius' explicit reference to an act of the *recuperatores*, as a consequence of an *adsertio* brought up by Flavius Liberalis. The *recuperatores* (or *reciperatores*)⁴³ were judges of a court charged, together with the *iudex unus* and the *arbiter*, to decide during trials *per formulas*⁴⁴. Originally, this court was established for international treaties: for example, the recovery of assets, both public and private, either occupied or stolen, by foreign communities or individuals⁴⁵.

It is not my intention to discuss how this body of judges took part in the trials *per formulas*, nor why they intervened in the place of the *iudex unus* and the *arbiter*, as these matters do not concern my issue⁴⁶. It is more important to analyze the cases in which the intervention of the *recupera-*

⁴² On the *senatusconsultum*, before the reign of Hadrian, see Gaius 1.67; on the rescript of Hadrian, Gaius 1.73; on the other rescript of Antoninus Pius, see Gaius 1.74. Also Albanese (1979) 188 n. 55.

⁴³ Sell (1837); Hartmann (1886) 229; Wlassak (1891) 298; Eisele (1896) 37; Wenger (1914) 405; Wlassak (1921) 51 and 118; Luzzatto (1948) 231; Pugliese (1948) 182; Bongert (1952) 99-266; Levy-Bruhl (1960) 143; Pugliese (1963) 194; Schmidlin (1963); Pugliese (1967) 1076-1081.

⁴⁴ It seems that their origin is older than the procedure *per formulas*; in this regard: Hartmann (1886) 229; Wenger (1914) 405; Luzzatto (1948) 233; Pugliese (1948) 182; Paoli (1955) 357; Levy-Bruhl (1960) 143; Pugliese (1963) 194; Schmidlin (1963) 14-16; Pugliese (1967) 1076-1077.

⁴⁵ This hypothesis is based on Festus, *De verborum significatu*, 342, s.v. *reciperatio*. On the *reciperatio* of *res privatae*: Schmidlin (1963) 13, 17 and *passim*; on the other positions: Karlowa (1885) 292; Bongert (1952) 124. A synthesis of the debate is in Pugliese (1967) 1077 n. 1.

⁴⁶ In this regard, see: Pugliese (1948) 185; Bongert (1952) 131; Pugliese (1963) 206; Schmidlin (1963) 10 and 133; Pugliese (1967) 1078.

tores is documented⁴⁷. Legal texts offer conspicuous evidence of this, and, in particular, about matters of *causae liberales*⁴⁸, namely in issues about the status of an individual, independently of whether he was a slave, a freedman or a woman⁴⁹. Since it was not allowed, at the same time, to be the object of a *litis* and to take part in a trial with another function, the procedure needed the presence of a third person, who was called *adsertor in libertatem*⁵⁰. For classical times, it is hard to establish the competences of the *adsertio*: probably there were no precise constraints of its application and that the intervention of the *recuperatores* could concern the matters of free status but also the civil facts, such as the *adsertio in civitatem*⁵¹. According to Nicolau, this kind of *adsertio* was raised in favor of Flavia Domitilla: her changes of status from Latina to Romana and, then, from Romana to *ingenua* are a result of a single process by which, as Suetonius informs us, she was recognized *ingenua*, and consequently, a Roman citizen, and not vice versa, as proposed by some scholars⁵². Moreover, these *recuperatores* have often been identified, incorrectly, with the body of twenty *recuperatores cives Romani*, chosen to evaluate the *iusta causa manumissionis*, under the *lex Aelia Sentia*: in such case, they did not decide about a *causa liberalis*, nor was the procedure *per formulas*⁵³. In any event, both bodies of *recuperatores* adjudicated in the provinces in matters of status⁵⁴ and, therefore, the lawsuit about the origins of Flavia Domitilla might have occurred also in one of the provinces.

Returning to our only source, the first fact about Flavia Domitilla is her tie with an unknown Statilius Capella, a Roman knight from Sabratha⁵⁵, a small town of Africa proconsularis. This may be the province in

⁴⁷ The *recuperatores* had power with respect to agrarian reform, tax and fines collections, physical *iniuriae*, crimes of violence or violation of the tomb. On the other areas of action, see Pugliese (1967) 1078-1079.

⁴⁸ The main legal texts related to the *liberalis causa*: *D.* 40.12-16; *C.Th.* 4.8; *P.S.* 5.1; *C.I.* 3.22; 7.16-22; a list of the other sources is in Albanese (1979) 116-117 n. 495.

⁴⁹ On this matter: Bongert (1952) 188; La Rosa (1958) 14; Franciosi (1961) 89; Schmidlin (1963) 83; Pugliese (1967) 1079.

⁵⁰ On this figure: Albanese (1979) 119-127.

⁵¹ Nicolau (1933) 53-56, nos. 89-90, and 139, no. 264.

⁵² Suet., *Vesp.* 3: (...) *olim Latinaeque condicionis, sed mox ingenuam et civem Rom(anam) recuperatorio iudicio pronuntiatam* (...)

⁵³ See Pugliese (1967) 1079 n. 1.

⁵⁴ Nicolau (1933) 53-56.

⁵⁵ City of the Tripolitania (modern Libya) on the Gulf Gabès (Little Sirte), west of Tripoli. Founded by the Phoenicians, it was first subdued by the Carthaginians and then, by the kingdom of Numidia; finally it was part of the province of Africa under Caesar, after 46 BC. It became a colony in the second century. See Dessau (1920) 1608.

which the lawsuit took place but, before handling the matter in question, it would be better to try to understand the bond that tied the future wife of Vespasian with the Roman knight: Suetonius writes that Flavia Domitilla was his *delicata*.

Formerly, this passage raised some doubt, mostly from the philological and interpretative point of view⁵⁶. In the editions and commentaries of the Life of Vespasian, in fact, the term *delicata* was translated as concubine, friend⁵⁷, mistress⁵⁸, favourite⁵⁹, lover⁶⁰. Most commentators are inclined to perceive, in the term *delicata*, a connotation referring to the sexual context. Flavia Domitilla would therefore have met Vespasian after having been the lover of Statilius Capella. In my opinion, this interpretation of the passage needs to be re-evaluated.

In light of this, I extend the objective of this investigation to the epigraphic sources that, together with literary ones, have reported several examples of *delicati*⁶¹. It has always been difficult to assign only one meaning to the adjective *delicatus/a*, since the ancient authors used it in various ways⁶². Thus a disagreement arose between the literary sources and the epigraphic evidence⁶³.

In Latin tradition, the *delicia/deliciae/delicati*⁶⁴ were slaves or freedmen, generally of young age, considered as favourite objects of their masters and often elected to keep them company throughout the day⁶⁵. However, the erotic connotations that so far have portrayed the tie between the *dominus* and the *delicatus*, especially in the literary

⁵⁶ On the reading of *deligata* and *delegata* in place of *delicata*, see Cuq (1884) 161-164.

⁵⁷ See Mooney (1979) 384.

⁵⁸ Dessì (1987) 725.

⁵⁹ Lana (1952) 475; Ailloud (1954) 49; Vitali (1965) 203.

⁶⁰ Gavorse (1931) 323; Lambert (1955) 417; Edwards (2000) 261; Graves (2003) 282.

⁶¹ On the *delicati*: Aurigemma (1910) 1594-1603; Slater (1974) 133-140; Nielsen (1990) 79-88; Herrmann-Otto (1994) 310-312 and *passim*; Laes (2003) 298-324; La Monaca (2007) 169-180, (2008) 211-218, and (forthcoming).

⁶² In this regard, Van Dam (1984) 72, in which the confusion of the literary sources is mentioned, with the lack of clarity of *ThLL* V (1909-1943), col. 443-450.

⁶³ La Monaca (2007) 175-176.

⁶⁴ With regard to the etymological issues of the adjective *delicatus*, -a, -um and its semantic affinities with the terms *delicia*, -ae (*deliciae*, -arum) and *delicium*, -i (*delicium*, -i) see Ernout e.a. (1985) 168-169 and 346-348.

⁶⁵ See *ThLL* V (1909-1943) 443-450 with anthology of passages in Aurigemma (1910) 1594-1595 and *passim*.

sources⁶⁶, seem to be lacking in the inscriptions: in these, the slave is part of the emotional life of the family to which he belongs.

The epigraphic corpus suggests that the terms *delicati* and *delicia* (and especially the latter)⁶⁷ are used either for slaves or freedmen, just as in literature⁶⁸. Unlike the *delicati* found in the literary sources, those commemorated in the epitaphs are not only young; they also occupy a specific place in the *familia*, since they are commemorated together with close relatives of the dedicators⁶⁹. The tie between the *delicati/delicia* and their masters or *patroni* does not refer to the erotic sphere, as in the literary sources; rather it is based on feelings of affection, which often seem to be almost parental in nature⁷⁰.

The presence of the *delicati* in the sepulchral inscriptions of the families with servile origin⁷¹ is particularly interesting. The commemoration of the *delicati* is often close to that of the children of the dedicators: some inscriptions list the *delicati* immediately before⁷² or after⁷³ the

⁶⁶ *Ibid.* 1594-1603; see, in particular, Murgatroyd (1977) 105-119 and Watson (1992) 253-26.

⁶⁷ On the different diffusion of the terms with *delicatus* in the Northern Empire and *delicium/delicia* in the Middle and South: Nielsen (1990) 82-85 and Laes (2003) 306-307. See also La Monaca (2008) 210-211 n. 5.

⁶⁸ Laes (2003) 309 refers to some inscriptions with freeborn *delicati* but the *ingenuitas* is only presumed by him.

⁶⁹ For example: *CIL* III 2414: *L. Lartius Terpinus* | *v(ivus) f(ecit) sibi et Corelliae* | *Nice coniugi* | *suae sanctissimae* | *et Corelliae Melete* | *delicatae suae et* | *libertis libertabus(que) suis*. | *In f(ron)te p(edes) XX*, in *a(gro) p(edes) XXX*. | *H(oc) m(onumentum) h(eredem) n(on) s(equetur)*; *AE* 1935, 105: *V(ivus) f(ecit)* | *C. Valerius* | *Fortunatus* | *sibi et Valeriae* | *Chrestae*, | *coniugi* | *et C. Valerio Clodiano*, | *delicato*. | *Locus datus a P. Larcio* | *Hermadione, a(mico) o(ptimo)*. | *In fronte p(edes) XVI*, | *in agrum p(edes) XX*; *CIL* XI 1477 (cf. p. 1264) = *InscrIt* VII.1 51: *M. Manlius* | *Blastus sibi et* | *Cisidiae Fortunatae*, | *coniugi bene me(ren)ti et* | *Felicitati, delica(tae), quae vixit* | *an(nos) XVII men(ses) V* | *dies XVII h(oras) IIII*. | *In f(ron)te p(edes) XV*, in *a(gro) p(edes) XV*; *CIL* V 141 = *InscrIt* X.1 239: [*Ca*]esia C. [*f.*] | [*Se*]cunda | *v(iva) f(ecit) sibi et* | *C. Caesio M(a) xi(m)o, patri*, | *Sociae M(a)ximae*, | *matri*, | *Caesiae Paullinae, sorori*, | [*- Ca*]esio Sabino, *fratri*, | [*Ph*]aedimo, *delicato*. | *E(x) t(estamento)*; *InscrIt* X.1 593: [*Iul*]ia Aug. l. [*Proph*]asis | *v(iva) f(ecit) sibi et* | *C. Iulio Aplo, sexvir(o), f(ilio)*, | *C. Iulio Cupito, f(ilio)*, | *Iuliae Phyllidi, f(iliae)*, | *Iuliae Apulae, f(iliae)*, | *Caristo, delicato*.

⁷⁰ La Monaca (2008) 217, with previous bibliography.

⁷¹ See Laes (2003) 311-314.

⁷² See *CIL* V 1410 = *SI* 101: *L(ucius) Titius, L(uci)* | *lib(ertus), Graptus* | *et Barbia Paulin(a)* | *v(ivi) f(ecerunt) sibi et Primitivo*, | *delicato, ann(or)um VII* | *et Graphice et* | *Daphno, filiis*. | *L(ocus) m(onumenti) in f(ron)te p(edes) XVI*, | *in agr(o) p(edes) XX*. | *Lib(ertis) et li(bertabus)*. | *H(oc) m(onumentum) h(eredem) n(on) s(equetur)*.

⁷³ *CIL* V 8336 = *InscrAq* 838: *D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum)*. | *Aquilino, fil(io)*, | *ann(or)um VI*. | *C(aius) Petronius, Tertullinae li(bertae), Amerimnus* | *et Petronia, C(ai) lib(erta)*, | *Savarina, parentes*, | *v(ivi) f(ecerunt)* | *et Successo, delicato*, | *ann(or)um IIII*. | *Lib(ertis)*

legitimate children of the dedicators; moreover, in some cases the death of a *delicatus/delicium* was the reason why the family decided to construct the funerary monument in the first place⁷⁴. Some *delicati* were manumitted under thirty years of age, by *iusta causa*⁷⁵, under the *lex Aelia Sentia*: it is probable that some *delicati* were illegitimate children of the dedicators of the monument. *D.* 40.2.16, in fact, does not provide any exception for slaves who were *in deliciis, sed iustis affectionibus dedisse iustam libertatem legem aeliam sentiam credendum*. Furthermore, these *delicati* were often called with calling names indicating birth order⁷⁶ or with the same names as the biological parent⁷⁷. This custom⁷⁸ underlined the tie that bound them to their masters. Since the biological parents could not recognize their illegitimate children, these might have been called *delicati*, as meaning ‘beloved’ or ‘dear’. The numerous difficulties families of servile origin would have had to face for all individuals in the family, particularly the offspring, have been discussed by scholars for several years⁷⁹.

lib(ertabus)q(ue) post(eris)q(ue) eorum. | H(oc) m(onumentum) h(eredem) n(on) s(equetur). | In fr(onte) p(edes) XII, in a(gro) p(edes) XX s(emissem); CIL V 936 = ILS 2423 = InscrAq 2756a: L(ucius) Titius, | L(uci) f(ilius), Vot(uria), | veteranus | leg(ionis) VIII Aug(ustae), | stipendiorum | XXV, mensor | frumenti, v(ivus) f(ecit) sibi et | Titiae Fuscae, l(ibertae), | concubinae, | Vitali, f(iliae), | Ingenuae, f(iliae), | Veneriae, | delicatae, | et lib(ertis) lib(ertabus)q(ue) suis | et eorum natis | nascentibus. | L(ocus) m(onumenti) in fr(onte) p(edes) XVI.

⁷⁴ For example: *CIL V 1013 = SI 1121 = InscrAq 622: L(ucius) Vallius Auctus, f(ilius) | (sex)viri, | Fructuosae Martialis, l(ibertae), | coniugi, | Didymen(i), delicatae, ann(orum) XV.*

⁷⁵ On this aspect: *CIL VI 25808 = CLE 1570: V(iva) Salvidiena Q(uinti) l(iberta) Hilara | Salvidienae Faustillae, deliciae suae, | eruditae omnibus artibus. | Reliquisti mammam tuam, | gementem, plangentem, plorantem. | Vix(it) an(nis) XV, | mensib(us) III, dieb(us) XI, hor(is) VII. | Virginem eripuit fatus malus. | Destituiisti, vitilla mea, | miseram mammam tuam; AE 1974, 296 = AE 1999, 544: Valeria, P(ubli) f(ilia), Florilla | fecit sibi et | P(ublio) Valerio Felicioni, l(iberto) | et delicio suo, qui vixit annos XV.*

⁷⁶ See: *CIL VI 6612: Valeria Prima sibi et | C(aio) Valerio, C(ai) f(ilio), Cosano, patrono et | P(ublio) Camelio Salvillo, viro carissim(o) et | Primigenia, delicio suo et | libertis libertabus posterisq(ue) eorum; CIL VI 24949 = CIL IX 561*, 21: Primigenia | v(ixit) an(nos) XII. | Lucania Philtate | delic(io) suo f(iliae); CIL VI 37699: Dis Manibus | T(itus) Quintius, (mulieris) l(ibertus), Eros, | Pontia Prima, | coniux eius Erotis, | Pontia Primigenia, | delictum eorum, | Pontia Secunda, | liberta eius.*

⁷⁷ *SI 9: D(is) M(anibus). | P(ublius) Cissonius Datus, | Cissoniae Primitivae, lib(ertae) et coniugi | pientissimae et | Cissoniae Restitutae, sorori et Dato, | delicato, posuit et | Cissonio Restituto, | fratri pientissimo.*

⁷⁸ Solin (1990).

⁷⁹ Gardner (1998) 179-190. On the matter, see Gardner (1993) and the works collected in Rawson & Weaver (1997).

Therefore, when Suetonius defines Flavia Domitilla as the *delicata* of Statilius Capella, he may have used the term ‘technically’, according to the sensitivity of his society: in this way, he might have referred to a parental relationship, instead of a love affair, namely as a link between biological father and illegitimate daughter. In this case, the *adsertio in civitatem*, executed in favour of Flavia Domitilla, might have been conceived and organized ad hoc, and it should be interpreted, as already shown⁸⁰, as a device available to the senators to overcome the marriage bans⁸¹.

The origins of Flavia Domitilla might not be associated to the family of Flavius Liberalis. We do not know much about him, except for his place of origin (*Ferentium*) that, in the past, suggested a family relationship with the *gens Flavia*, with whom he even shared the *nomen*⁸². However, it is difficult to imagine why Suetonius would not have mentioned this connection if it was illegitimate, and it therefore appears plausible that Flavius Liberalis had obscure origins. Moreover, his membership to the class of *apparitores*⁸³ may suggest that his link to the *gens Flavia* was patronal, rather than biological.

According to what is known, a slave at this time would not have been considered to have a family of his or her own; but though manumission, he would become part of the family of his former master, as a second-degree relative⁸⁴. The main consequence of this new familiar relationship is membership in the same *gens*. Thus, the access of Flavius Liberalis to the class of the *apparitores* may suggest a different hypothesis⁸⁵: the members of this *ordo* were *cives Romani*, who had been appointed by the college of magistrates⁸⁶, under the *lex Cornelia de XX quaestoribus*⁸⁷. The magistrates often nominated someone among their freed-

⁸⁰ Eck & Heinrichs (1993) 192ff.

⁸¹ In this regard, see what has been said about the *lex Iulia et Papia*.

⁸² I refer, in particular, to the assumptions of Levick (1999) 12.

⁸³ De Ruggiero (1895) 522-528; Purcell (1983) 125-173.

⁸⁴ Veyne (1961) 213-247.

⁸⁵ On the poor image reserved to this class, see what Suetonius says: (...) *patre asserente Flavio Liberale Ferenti genito nec quicquam amplius quam quaestorio scriba* (*Vesp.*, 3). On the attitude of ancient writers, shared also by Tacitus (*Ann.* 16.12.4); Purcell (1983) 136.

⁸⁶ The *apparitor* was appointed by all magistrates because of the collegiality of the public office; moreover, the *apparitor* performed the task conferred him by all the quaestors.

⁸⁷ On this law: Rotondi (1912) 353.

men⁸⁸. These remarks, therefore, would reinforce the assumption that Flavius Liberalis had been a freedman of Vespasian, claiming a misleading paternity in return for social rise: in this case, he might have ensured himself an appointment to the class of the *apparitores*. This might have happened when Vespasian had just taken up the office of quaestor⁸⁹, namely between AD 34 and 35, since the magistrates of Rome proceeded to the assignment of the subordinates for the following year, as it is well documented for the quaestors⁹⁰.

The marriage, therefore, would not have been “un’unione d’amore o d’inclinazione”⁹¹. In my opinion, the tie between Vespasian and Flavia Domitilla had the intention of creating a web of social and political alliances, necessary for the career of a young man. Two more elements should be taken into consideration. Suetonius mentions a relationship between Vespasian and the freedwoman of Antonia Minor, whose name, Antonia Caenis, is known from inscriptions; she also helped Antonia Minor to unveil the conspiracy of Sejanus⁹². After the death of Flavia Domitilla, Vespasian *Caenidem, Antoniae libertam et a manu, dilectam quondam sibi revocavit in contubernium habuitque imperator paene iustae uxoris loco*⁹³. Probably their relationship had been terminated because of the marriage between Vespasian and Flavia Domitilla, whose main purpose was to strengthen Vespasian’s bond with Claudius and his entourage, under whose reign the career of Vespasian was favoured⁹⁴. Although we know very little about Statilius Capella, he was certainly a collateral descendant of the one of the main *gentes* of the Statilii, which, for a long time, held the highest offices from the Republic to the Empire. Furthermore, the *cognomen* Domitilla could suggest a tie with the *gens Domitia*, with whom the Statilii were related too through several marriages, like that of Statilia Messalina and Nero, and then, through the union of Valeria Messalina with Claudius. Although it was customary among equestrian families to give the *cognomen* of the mother to the second-born, this name seems to be relevant in the Flavian dynasty:

⁸⁸ This procedure is documented by the ancient writers: Plut., *Ti. Gracch.* 12; Val. Max. 9.5.2. De Ruggiero (1895) 525.

⁸⁹ On the difficulty to reconstruct the career of Vespasian, see what has been said *supra*, n. 3.

⁹⁰ *Schol. in Cic. Clod. et Cur.* p. 332; Plin., *ep.* 4.12. See De Ruggiero (1895) 526.

⁹¹ Homo (1949) 184.

⁹² On her life: *PIR*² A 885; Nicols (1975) 48-58. Suetonius mentions her in other passages of his work: see *Dom.* 12.3 where she is introduced as the *concubina* of Vespasian.

⁹³ Suet., *Vesp.* 3.

⁹⁴ On this aspect: Nicols (1978) 1-26.

the marriage of Domitian with Domitia Longina might have solemnized the relationship between these two families.

The hypothesis about the origins between Sabratha of Flavia Domitilla could be confirmed by the numerous archeological finds in that city, although, as regards the numismatic and sculptural materials, the identification between Flavia Domitilla, as wife of Vespasian, and the other namesakes (namely, the daughter and granddaughter of Vespasian) remains problematic⁹⁵. The attention of the *gens Flavia* for Sabratha is documented by abundant statues of the members of the dynasty⁹⁶, but also, in the second century AD, by the transformation of the city to a Roman colony, in which the origins of Flavia Domitilla might have played a role⁹⁷. Also, the cult *Romae et Augusti* might have arisen in the Flavian period, because of strong interest in Vespasian and his wife, just as the same cult is documented in Leptis Magna in Julio-Claudian era by portraits of the members of the dynasty.

In conclusion, both literary and epigraphic sources indicate a new direction in thought about the origins of Flavia Domitilla. Thanks to the epigraphic evidence about the *delicati*, it has been possible to conjecture that Flavia Domitilla was not a romantic or sexual mistress of the Roman knight Statilius Capella, but his illegitimate daughter, born of his relationship with a slave. Since she was a slave, it was necessary to appeal to sentence of the *recuperatores*. This trial might have been mere fiction, as often in this world of politics, in order to achieve first *ingenuitas* and, consequently, *civitas Romana* without which Flavia Domitilla would not have been able to marry Vespasian. Flavius Liberalis may have been a freedman of Vespasian, claiming a 'misleading' paternity in return for social rise, specifically, membership to the class of the *apparitores*. Although this matter is still challenging to clarify, a new perspective of study, based mostly on a new interpretation of the *delicati* in the household, could draw a new image of Flavia Domitilla and her origins: her rather extraordinary story could be symbolic for the understanding of the social dynamism that, in this case, allowed her to transform from *delicata* to *Diva* and *Augusta*⁹⁸.

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⁹⁵ On this aspect: Kienast (1989), Rosso (2007) 143-146, and Wood (2010) 45-57.

⁹⁶ Caputo (1950) 7-28.

⁹⁷ Merighi (1940) 227.

⁹⁸ On eventual honors bestowed on Flavia Domitilla, see Kienast (1989) 141-147.

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THE OMEN OF SNEEZING

Abstract: In this article the most important evidence concerning sneezing lore in the Greek and Roman world is assembled and evaluated. It turns out that great divinatory value was ascribed to sneezing. A sneeze was seen as a sign from the gods that certain things were going to happen or as a warning to abstain from certain activities. The interpretation of the sneeze depended upon who it was that sneezed, from what side the sneeze came, at what time the sneeze was heard etc. Even though throughout antiquity there were critical voices with regard to this practice, it seems that taking sneezes seriously as signs from heaven was a widespread phenomenon among Greeks and Romans.

In modern times there still is a widespread sneezing folklore in most countries. In the Netherlands, for instance, like in most other countries,¹ it is customary to utter a wish for good health (“gezondheid!”) when someone sneezes,² or, when a person sneezes three times, to take it as a prediction and say: “Tomorrow the weather will be fine!” In most cases this is innocent folklore that varies from country to country and has, in industrialized countries at least, no longer any religious significance. In antiquity (and in the Middle Ages) the situation was very different. In Greek literature, we find right from the start a very different picture. A century ago, in 1911, Arthur Stanley Pease wrote an informative article about this topic,³ but since then this curious form of divination has remained understudied (none of the encyclopedias on the ancient world have an entry on sneezing). It is worthwhile to take a fresh look at the evidence (some of which is not mentioned by Pease) and to pay special attention to its religious aspects.

As early as Homer’s *Odyssey* there is an interesting passage in which sneezing is seen as a significant omen. In Book 17, Penelope hears from

¹ See the opening remark in Pease (1911) 429: “Of the numerous folk-customs and beliefs traceable from ancient to modern times few are more persistent or more widely diffused than those connected with sneezing”. Cf. also Bouché-Leclercq (1879) 160-165. A concise list of ‘ancient sneezes’ in Lateiner (2005) 99-101. For a brief but good general introduction to sneezing lore worldwide, but especially in Europe, see P. Sartori (1935) 1072-1083.

² This apparently was already a custom in antiquity, as we may conclude from Petronius, *Satyr.* 98.4-5, Pliny the Elder, *Nat. Hist.* 2.40.107; 18.23, and Apuleius, *Met.* 9.25. See Stemplinger (1948) 58-59; and Pease (1911) 436, for a variety of modern equivalents.

³ See note 1.

Eumaeus that her husband Odysseus has returned to his homeland and she asks Eumaeus to bring him home as soon as possible.

While the words were yet on her lips, Telemachus sneezed so vehemently that the house resounded. Penelope laughed. Then she hastily repeated to Eumaeus, "Now call the stranger instantly. Did you not hear how my son sealed all I said with that sneeze? It spells no half-measures for the suitors, but utter death and doom for every individual man" (17.541-546).⁴

Although the author does not explicitly say that it is a god-given omen or something of the sort, it seems reasonable to assume that that is exactly what he meant. In the Homeric *Hymn to Hermes* 293-303 this religious connection is made more explicit in the scene where Apollo takes the young Hermes in his arms, whereupon Hermes releases a bird of omen and sneezes at the same time, which is interpreted by Apollo as a very positive presage for himself. The connection between god-sent birds of augury and sneezing is also clearly exemplified in Aristophanes, *Aves* 719-721, where the chorus of birds sings:

You even use the word bird for anything that brings good luck or bad luck, whether it's a chance remark, a sneeze, an unexpected meeting, a noise, a servant or a donkey, you call it a bird!.⁵

This passage seems to imply that sneezing might also be regarded as a sign of bad luck, which is emphasized as well by Menander when, in a passage ridiculing superstition, he says that we become sad when someone sneezes, we get angry when someone uses a wrong (= ominous) word, we are alarmed when someone has had a dream, and we become frightened when an owl hoots (ll. 9-11 of fr. 620 Sandbach = fr. 844 Kassel-Austin).⁶ His rival, the New Comedy poet Philemon, also ridicules the exaggerated superstitious attention to sneezing and other omens in the following fragment (fr. 101 Kassel-Austin, quoted by Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis* 7.4.25.4):

When I see someone observing who it is that sneezed, that spoke, or that went out, I put him up for sale in the market place at once [*i.e.*, I think him the equal of a mere slave]. Each one of us goes out,

⁴ Translation by Lawrence (1991) 244-245. See also the comments by Steiner (2010) 147, but esp. by Lateiner (2005).

⁵ The passage in Aristophanes, *Ran.* 647: "Actually, I have hit you already. – Well, why didn't I sneeze then? – I don't know, I'll try it again", remains obscure to me.

⁶ It should be added here that some commentators of the fragment assume that the text is corrupt and that sneezing is not in place here (but why not?); see Gomme & Sandbach (1973) 717.

or speaks, or sneezes, because we please or have to, not to benefit the town. Things happen for good reasons of their own!⁷

It is exactly the criticism by the comedians that shows how widespread this practice was among the common people.

Herodotus tells a story about a negative interpretation of sneezing. When the Greek general Hippias had anchored his fleet at Marathon and disembarked his Persian soldiers and got them into position for battle, he was seized by an unusually violent fit of sneezing and coughing and lost one of his teeth. He interpreted this as a warning that he would never be able to conquer the country (6.107). But Theocritus, in his wedding song for the marriage of Menelaus and Helen says to the newly wed husband (*Idyll* 18.16-17; cf. also 7.96):

Happy groom! Some man of good omen sneezed upon you as you went to Sparta with other heroes, that you might win your quest.⁸

The religious overtones of the attention to sneezing are brought out clearly by Xenophon in *Anabasis* 3.2.9: Xenophon has addressed his soldiers and said that with help of the gods they have a very good chance of a safe return home.

When he said that, someone sneezed. Upon hearing that all the soldiers kneeled down like one man and worshipped the god, and Xenophon said: "It seems to me, men, since a sign [literally: a bird!] from Zeus our Saviour was given when we were talking about a safe return, that we should vow that we will offer sacrifices to this deity..." etc.

In his *Life of Themistocles* Plutarch tells us that during the war with the Persians, the Athenian general was making a sacrifice when three prisoners of war were brought to him:

When Euphrantides the seer (*mantis*) caught sight of them, at one and the same moment a great and glaring flame shot up from the sacrificial victims and a sneeze from the right gave forth its good omen; then he clasped Themistocles by the hand and bade him consecrate the young men and sacrifice them all to Dionysus Carnivorous, with prayers of supplication, for in this way the Greeks would have a saving victory" (*Them.* 13.2).⁹

And in a humoristic anonymous epigram in the *Anthologia Palatina* (11.268) about a man who has such a long nose that his ears cannot hear

⁷ Translation (corrected) by Edmonds (1961) 65.

⁸ Cholmeley (1919) 323, rightly remarks *ad* 18.16-17 that ὅς ἀνύσαιο depends on ἐπέπαρεν not on ἐρχομένῳ.

⁹ Cf. also Frontinus, *Strateg.* 1.12.11.

it when he sneezes (because of the great distance between nose and ears), we read that for that reason this man never says, “Zeus, help!” (Ζεῦ, σῶσον), when he sneezes, a remark that only makes sense if others did.¹⁰ Hence Athenaeus states, in a discussion of the brains, that people regard the head as sacred and for that reason they swear by it and do obeisance to the sneezes which come from it, “as if they are sacred” (*Deipnos*. 2.66C).

It is interesting to notice that as rationalistic a scholar as the author of the *Problemata* — whether or not he was Aristotle need not be discussed here —, who devotes a long chapter (33) to a scientific discussion of all aspects of the phenomenon of sneezing, nevertheless also raises the question, “Why do we regard sneezing as divine [or, according to a different reading: as a god]?” (33.7, 962a21), a question he unfortunately does not answer, although he does mention the possibility that it may have to do with the fact that sneezing comes from our most divine part, our head. Further on, he again states that sneezing is revered as sacred and is regarded as a good omen (33.9, 962b6-7); and some paragraphs later he offers some rationalistic explanations for the problem of why sneezing between midnight and midday is regarded as a bad thing, but between midday and midnight as a good thing (33.11, 962b19-20).¹¹ In a work of undoubted authenticity, even Aristotle himself says that sneezing “is an outward rush of collected breath, and it is the only mode of breath used as an omen and regarded as supernatural” (*Historia animalium* 1.11, 492b6-7). Illustrative also is a story told by Diogenes Laertius about Diogenes the Cynic:

A very superstitious man addressed him thus, “With one blow I will break your head.” “And I,” said Diogenes, “will make you tremble by a sneeze from the left”(6. 48).¹²

¹⁰ In *Anth. Pal.* 6.333, by Marcus Argentarius, a lamp that sneezed three times (apparently an ominous sputtering) is told, “thou shalt stand by the tripod, like Apollo, and prophesy to men”. Another interesting and curious sneezing passage in this collection is *Anth. Pal.* 11.375 (Macedonius), where the wish of the husband to hear of the death of his wife is connected with his sneezing near a tomb.

¹¹ There is a considerable amount of strictly scientific literature on sneezing, written by Greek and Roman physicians who do not pay any attention to the superstitious or religious aspects of the phenomenon, e.g., (chapters in) treatises by Aetius Amidenus, Alexander of Aphrodisias, Galen, Palladius Alexandrinus, Paulus Aegineta, Aulus Cornelius Celsus, and Pliny the Elder.

¹² Compare Eustathius’ remark in his commentary on the *Iliad* (2.440): ὅτι δὲ καὶ ὁ ἐκ δεξιῶν παρμὸς οἰωνίζετό τι ἀγαθόν, παλαιὰ νόμισις ἐστὶ. Also his commentary on the *Odyssey* passage quoted above in the main text is illustrative.

The same author also tells a somewhat enigmatic story about the Stoic Cleanthes who recognized a man as a homosexual as soon as the man sneezed [7.17]; see the parallel story in Dio Chrysostom, *Oratio* 33.54-55. In his debate with Celsus, the Christian scholar Origen remarks:

If birds really have a divine soul and a perception of God, or as Celsus would say, of the gods, then obviously also when we men sneeze we do so as a result of some divinity in us and some prophetic power in our soul. For this too is testified by many" (*Contra Celsum* 4.94).

and he then quotes *Odyssey* 17.541-545. And the late epic poet Nonnus tells us in his *Dionysiaca* that Zeus spoke about the young Dionysus' future life:

The Father spoke, the Moirai applauded; at his words the lightfooted Horai sneezed as a presage of things to come (7.107; cf. 13.82: "laurelled Apollo the Seer, his father's father, sneezed victory for the young man").

Finally it is important for our purposes to notice the significant role of sneezing in Plutarch's discussion of Socrates' famous *daimonion* in his *De genio Socratis* 11-12, 580F-582C. One of the participants in the discussion says that a sneeze or a chance remark or any other such trivial omen cannot in itself incline a grave or serious mind to action; only when it is joined to one of two opposite reasons may it solve a dilemma by destroying a balance and thus allow a movement or action to arise. Then another participant remarks:

I have it from one of the Megarian school (...) that Socrates' *daimonion* was a sneeze, his own and others': thus, when another sneezed at his right, whether behind or in front, he proceeded to act, but if at his left, he desisted; while of his own sneezes the one that occurred when he was on the point of acting confirmed him in what he had set out to do, whereas the one occurring after he had already begun checked and prevented his movement. But what astonishes me is that, supposing he relied on sneezes, he did not speak to his friends of being prompted or deterred by these but by a *daimonion* (581A-B).

Then this speaker goes on to combat the Megarian point of view and stresses that a person of such a great mental stability and wisdom as Socrates cannot have been "a man whose views are at the mercy of voices or sneezes, but one guided by a higher authority" (581D).

The first speaker then reacts by saying:

As in medicine a rapid pulse or a blister, trifling in itself, is a sign of something by no means trifling, and as for a skipper the cry of a marine bird or the passing of a wisp of yellow cloud betokens wind and a rising sea, so for a mind expert in divination a sneeze or a random utterance, although in itself no great matter, may yet be a sign of some great event; for in no art is the prediction of great things from small, or of many things from few, neglected. (...) So take heed lest it be simplicity in us, in our ignorance of the significance for the future of the various signs interpreted by the art of divination, to resent the notion that a man of intelligence can draw from them some statements about things hidden from our view — and that too when it is the man himself who says that it is no sneeze or utterance that guides his acts, but something divine. (...) I for one... would have been astonished if a master of dialectic and the use of words like Socrates had spoken of receiving intimations not from his heavenly *daimonion* but from ‘the sneeze’: it is as if a man should say that the arrow wounded him, and not the archer with the arrow, or that the scales, and not the weigher with the scales, measured the weight. For the act does not belong to the instrument, but to the person to whom the instrument itself belongs, who uses it for the act; and the sign used by the power that signals is an instrument like any other (582A-C; transl. LCL).

Two things should be noted here. Firstly, it is striking to observe that in the Socratic philosophical school of the Megarians (founded ca. 380 by Euclides) there was a tradition about the nature of the *daimonion* that guided Socrates to the effect that this divine (or ‘demonic’) guidance was exercised by means of sneezes. Secondly, still in the second century CE, it was deemed important enough in the philosophical circle of Plutarch to discuss this matter anew and to raise a debate about the divinatory (and therefore divine) character of sneezing. Apparently even in these circles sneezing was recognized as having some connection with or being the utterance of a divine messenger from heaven.

From Latin sources we may add the following small selection of interesting passages. One would expect Cicero to give valuable information in his *De Divinatione*. But surprisingly, he virtually neglects the topic except for a very brief and critical remark with aristocratic disdain in 2.40.84:

If we are going to accept chance utterances of this kind as omens, we had better look out when we stumble or break a shoe-string or sneeze.¹³

¹³ As usual, Pease (1963) 487-488 has a very rich explanatory note *ad locum* with abundant bibliography, but see also his article of 1911.

This clearly shows that for Cicero “belief in sneezing as an omen was not only something which he and his friends did not hold, but also a thing which it would be preposterous to expect them to adopt”.¹⁴ His contemporary, the poet Catullus, has two lovers make a mutual declaration of love, which is followed by a sneeze from Amor, both on the right and on the left hand, as a double sign of divine approval (45.8-18).¹⁵ His somewhat younger colleague, the love-elegist Propertius, states about his sweetheart that on her birth a propitious Amor sneezed a clear-sounding omen, indicating that her beauty was a gift from heaven (2.3.23-24; and cf. Ovid, *Heroides* 18.151-2). And Pliny the Elder informs us that in his days deterministic beliefs began to take root among both the learned and the unlearned,

witness the warnings drawn from lightning, the forecasts made by oracles, the prophecies of augurs, and even inconsiderable trifles counted as omens — a sneeze or a stumble (*Naturalis Historia* 2.5, 23-24; cf. 7.42 [quoted by Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae* 3.16.24] and 28.23 and 26, which are somewhat different).

But here we must end our survey of the material.

The evidence collected here shows that sneezes were widely regarded as god-given omens, and that the significance and interpretation depended chiefly upon one or more of the following factors: the position of the sneezer, especially with reference to the person who receives the sneezing as an omen (e.g. left or right, from in front or from behind, although this was often disregarded); the time of the sneeze (e.g. before or after midday, preceding or following actions or utterances); and, in certain cases, the physical condition of the sneezer (these cases I have not discussed¹⁶). As Pease remarks, “Omens, upon analysis, may be seen to be of two sorts, the one pointing backward and corroborative of what has taken place, the other pointing forward and prophetic of the future”.¹⁷ This applies to omens in general, but also to sneezes in particular. So sneezing as a manifestation of a divine power played a more important part in ancient divinatory speculation than is often

¹⁴ Pease (1911) 430-431.

¹⁵ Kroll (1960) 84 rightly remarks *ad locum*: “Hier ist das Niesen von beiden Seiten, also die doppelte Bekräftigung, in besonderem Maße glückverheißend.... Davon, daß das Niesen zur Linken Unglück bedeute, ist hier nicht die Rede.” See also Syndikus (1994) 238 n. 10.

¹⁶ See Pease (1911) 434-435.

¹⁷ Pease (1911) 439. Pease also points out there that the idea of corroborative favourable sneezing is expressed in Greek by ἐπιπταίρω, the prophetic sneezing by πταίρω.

assumed. At the same time, however, the (admittedly few) passages in which we have seen skepticism or even ridicule as regards this view of sneezing make clear that there were also critical minds who refused to take seriously what they could only see as superstition.

It is the religious aspect of Greek and Roman sneezing lore that is the background of the early Jewish and Christian polemics against taking sneezes as divine *omina*. It was especially the ascribing of divinatory function to sneezing in pagan circles that made this whole phenomenon utterly suspect in Jewish and Christian eyes (see, e.g., *Oracula Sibyllina* 3.224; Augustine, *Doctr. Christ.* 2.20.31). But that topic should be dealt with elsewhere.¹⁸

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¹⁸ For some preliminary remarks on Jewish reactions see Van der Horst (1998), esp. 101-106; on Christian reactions MacMullen (1997) 139, esp. 237 n. 129.

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LE LISTE DI ERODOTO*

Abstract: This article analyses the use of lists in Herodotus' *Histories*. In the first part, the different contents, forms and functions of lists in the Herodotean narrative are discussed, on the basis of a general 'theory' of lists. In the second part, it is seen how these lists are usually indicated by Herodotus with the verb *καταλέγειν*. This verb can have a political meaning when it is used by the actors of the narrative, revealing a process of deliberation according to knowledge and power. When it is used by the narrator, it stresses the particularity of his enunciation, linking 'history' and *κατάλογος*.

Le liste di Erodoto hanno da molto interessato gli antiquari, gli orientalisti e gli studiosi della storiografia antica. Spesso la narrazione erodotea si presenta sotto forma di lunghi elenchi. Possiamo menzionare le liste genealogiche, come la lista dei re d'Egitto, oppure la lista dei tributi, che serve a presentare l'impero persiano e a descrivere i popoli d'Asia, o ancora le liste periegetiche, ad organizzare le digressioni sulla Scizia e sulla Libia. Anche elenchi più brevi ricorrono con frequenza nella narrazione e possono avere una funzione narrativa rilevante.

Le liste sono presenti non solo nei λόγοι che compongono i primi libri delle *Storie*, ma anche in quelli destinati alle imprese greche di Dario e di Serse. Si tratta spesso della descrizione degli itinerari o delle forze militari radunate prima delle grandi battaglie. Non ultime, possiamo ricordare le liste dei popoli che compongono l'esercito e la flotta di Serse, e dei luoghi attraversati dalle forze persiane nell'invasione della Grecia¹.

È possibile spiegare l'importanza delle liste nella narrazione di Erodoto sia supponendo che il suo racconto fu composto a partire da elenchi preesistenti, sia invece considerando che, anche in assenza di questi elenchi, il narratore cerchi di conferire un ordine al discorso secondo la forma della lista.

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¹ Liste genealogiche: cfr., ad es., 2.99-143. Liste geografiche e periegetiche: cfr., ad es., 3.89-97, la lista dei tributi (e 98-117, digressioni geografiche ad essa collegate); 4.16-58: la descrizione del territorio della Scizia (a cui seguono 59-81, i costumi degli Sciti; 102-118, la lista di popoli confinanti); 4.168-197, la descrizione dei popoli della Libia; 7.59-100, il catalogo delle forze di Serse; 105-131, la marcia di Serse fino alla Pieria, secondo un elenco topografico.

Per mezzo delle liste presenti nelle *Storie* si è potuto parlare del rapporto tra Erodoto e i suoi predecessori: anzitutto Omero — che Erodoto apparentemente prende a modello quando compila il catalogo delle forze prima di battaglie come quella di Salamina — ed Ecateo, che Erodoto sembra imitare o copiare quando traccia gli itinerari geografici.

Ad Erodoto, però, si possono attribuire dei precursori anche al di fuori del mondo greco, almeno per quanto riguarda il frequente ricorso alle liste. È stata notata l'importanza delle forme di elencazione nei primi scritti delle culture dell'antichità. È stato studiato il loro rapporto con la scrittura e l'oralità, con la memorizzazione e con la nozione di saggezza. Si è parlato di una *Listenwissenschaft* per l'antico mondo orientale². Da questa prospettiva, l'interesse di Erodoto per le liste sembrerebbe ravvicinarlo non soltanto a Ecateo o a Omero, ma anche ai sumeri, accadì o egiziani.

Tuttavia, al di là del ruolo evidente che svolgono le liste nel racconto di Erodoto, possiamo chiedere se è presente nelle *Storie* una distinzione tra l'enunciazione delle liste, il dire “in forma di catalogo”, e l'atto di narrare. Potrebbe questa distinzione a sua volta differenziare le liste erodotee da quelle precedenti?

Questo saggio è suddiviso in due parti: nella prima si cerca di presentare i diversi modi di classificare le liste, in particolare quelle erodotee. Nella seconda parte, si considera l'uso erodoteo del verbo καταλέγειν, per indagarne il rapporto con l'enunciazione dei cataloghi³.

² L'espressione è ripresa da un saggio di Wolfram von Soden, interessato alla distinzione tra una prima scienza dei sumeri e la successiva scienza indoeuropea: cfr. Soden (1936).

³ Sui cataloghi nella Grecia arcaica si veda ancora Vernant (1965) 98-100. Per il rapporto tra catalogo e scrittura cfr., ad esempio, Goody (1989) 86, 110; West (1985) 7-8. Per l'epica si veda anche Kühlmann (1973) 1-22 (e bibliografia ivi citata); Bertolini (1996) 1227-1230 (con ulteriore bibliografia). Per il Vicino Oriente cfr. Edzard & Veenhof (1976) e Krecher (1976). Per i cataloghi nella letteratura greca, con riferimenti alla letteratura sui cataloghi biblici, Fitzgerald (1977). Per una messa a punto sulla discussione sul catalogo dei tributi persiani in Erodoto, forse il tema che ha suscitato il dibattito più ampio sulle liste erodotee, si veda Briant (1998) cap. 10.

1. CLASSIFICARE LE LISTE

Secondo Jack Goody, le liste sono collegate alla scrittura e costituiscono una “forma che è molto diversa da quella del discorso orale ordinario, anzi da quella di quasi tutti i discorsi orali”⁴.

Le diverse liste non sono state, però, da sempre percepite come una forma di discorso a se stante. Non sempre sono disponibili forme lessicali precise per indicare questo modo di discorrere, ordinato e ripetitivo. Non è necessario che, nelle differenti culture in cui riscontriamo procedure di catalogazione, le liste siano indicate con un termine specifico.

Sono state suggerite molteplici classificazioni per le liste, secondo (a) il loro fine o funzione, (b) la loro forma, (c) il loro oggetto e (d) l'ordine interno degli elementi.

(a) Le liste possono essere divise secondo il loro fine: registrazione, orientazione o conoscenza scientifica⁵:

i. Ci sono liste che servono a registrare gli avvenimenti, i ruoli, le situazioni o le persone, come le liste di re, e queste sono, secondo Goody, le “liste retrospettive”. In questi casi il tempo principale di riferimento è il passato. Un esempio erodoteo sono le liste dei re che i sacerdoti egiziani leggevano da un libro (2.99-143).

ii. Ci sono liste che servono per le azioni future. È il caso degli itinerari di viaggio nei sistemi di litterazione limitata e negli antichi sistemi di scrittura. Per Goody, queste sono le “liste degli acquisti” o “liste della spesa”, le *shopping lists*. In Erodoto abbiamo, ad esempio, la lista dei luoghi che si dovevano traversare per raggiungere Susa a partire dall'Ionia (5.52-54).

iii. Ci sono poi gli inventari di concetti, i proto-dizionari, forme embrionali di enciclopedie, che corrispondono, secondo Goody, alla nozione di *Listenwissenschaft*. Sono liste che non fanno riferimento ad un tempo definito. Elenchi di luoghi o di animali potrebbero essere apportati come esempi erodotei.

⁴ “A form which is very different from that of ordinary speech, indeed of almost any speech”: Goody (1977) 80 (ed. it. 95).

⁵ Cfr. Goody (1977) 80 (ed. it. 96).

Non sempre è facile stabilire una chiara distinzione tra questi casi⁶. Se pensiamo alle *Storie* di Erodoto, sembrerebbe naturale fare riferimento al primo tipo di liste, quelle “retrospettive”. Ma alle volte le liste servono ai personaggi della narrazione per consigliare una azione a prendere, come avviene nelle *shopping lists*; altre volte gli elenchi erodotei, inventari di cose e luoghi, non riguardano specificamente avvenimenti passati. In alcuni momenti, non è chiara la distinzione tra ciò che Erodoto descrive e ciò che è indicato da un suo personaggio: gli stessi oggetti — luoghi, popoli, regioni, genealogie — partecipano dei due discorsi, del narratore e degli attori del suo racconto.

Altre classificazioni delle liste possono essere proposte, sempre secondo i loro fini o funzioni. Prendendo ancora spunto dalle analisi di Goody, possiamo differenziare le liste amministrative o burocratiche (come le liste di tributi), le liste commemorative (come le liste dei vincitori) e le liste letterarie o scientifiche. Neanche in questo modo, però, è possibile stabilire una rigida distinzione. Erodoto ha potuto utilizzare le liste dei tributi persiani, o i libri dei re egiziani, per comporre il suo racconto. Le liste commemorative o amministrative possono svolgere, per se stesse, un ruolo diverso in un contesto storico o narrativo. Goody ricorda anche le “liste di avvenimenti”, suggerendo un ruolo storiografico *ante litteram* per alcune liste in quanto registrazione di fatti. La storia è stata spesso concepita come un “catalogo” di avvenimenti: ad esempio, nella *Poetica* di Aristotele⁷.

(b) Si possono, poi, distinguere le liste orali dalle liste scritte, per analizzare le liste scritte secondo le loro caratteristiche materiali e formali. Tra le liste scritte abbiamo le liste lineari — come quelle che sono inserite in un racconto — e le liste che si presentano “in forma di lista”. Nota Goody che i discorsi disposti in forma di lista si distinguono dagli altri perché si possono leggere in diverse direzioni, hanno inizio e fine

⁶ Sono le difficoltà che emergono nel differenziare, tra le prime opere prosastiche, le descrizioni periegetiche, “scientifiche”, dai peripli, “pratici”: si vedano le riflessioni di Felix Jacoby sulla prima prosa storiografica: Jacoby (1909) 20 e n. 13.

⁷ Secondo Aristotele, la storia, al contrario della (buona) poesia, non fa vedere una sola azione, ma in “un solo tempo ... *tutti gli eventi* che hanno tra di loro soltanto un rapporto casuale” (*Poet.* 23, 1459a16-30). L'esempio è “erodoteo”: il racconto della battaglia di Salamina e della battaglia contro i Cartaginesi in Sicilia, fatti che avvengono allo stesso tempo, ma che non hanno rapporto tra di loro. Aristotele — la prima fonte a parlarci di *ιστορία* come genere, facendo riferimento ad Erodoto — sembra considerare la storia come l'elenco delle azioni avvenute in un tempo determinato.

ben determinati, presentano dei bordi con limiti esterni e interni, e offrono una più grande visibilità alle categorie.

Abbiamo in Erodoto liste scritte lineari. Non sappiamo, quindi, in quale modo le liste dei re erano esposte nel libro da cui leggevano i sacerdoti egiziani⁸. Non sappiamo nemmeno se Erodoto disponesse di elenchi separati di luoghi geografici, o di forze militari, nel momento in cui componeva il suo racconto. In almeno un caso, Erodoto presenta un elenco di città secondo un itinerario che non sembra corrispondere al tema del suo racconto: possiamo pensare che disponesse di una lista topografica diversa dall'itinerario descritto, oppure che non menzioni tutti i fatti relazionati a questa "deviazione"⁹. In ogni modo, tali elenchi fanno naturalmente pensare alla possibilità di enunciare una lista topografica a partire da una carta. Questo rapporto tra lista e carta geografica è particolarmente importante nelle *Storie*.

(c) La divisione più semplice delle liste riguarda, però, gli oggetti elencati. Ci sono elenchi di città e di fiumi, di nomi di persone e di animali, di dei e di oracoli, di alfabeti e di forme grammaticali, ecc. In Erodoto, possiamo distinguere due classi principali, anche se non esclusive, di oggetti: i nomi di persone, ordinati in liste genealogiche; e i toponimi: nomi di popoli, regioni e fiumi, che compongono un territorio; oppure di popoli e di città che prendono parte a una battaglia, o che si dispongono lungo un itinerario.

Sono queste due classi di oggetti, presentate sotto forma di elenchi, che rendono un significato storiografico più preciso alle liste erodotee.

(d) Infine, gli elementi di una lista possono essere o apparire più o meno ordinati. Si possono distinguere le liste secondo la presenza di un criterio di classificazione: ad esempio, l'ordine alfabetico, l'itinerario, i prezzi delle merci elencate, o altro. Si è cercato di differenziare, in ragione di ciò, liste e cataloghi. Non sempre, però, è facile individuare un ordine, e perciò si possono utilizzare i termini "lista" e "catalogo" come sinonimi. Nel caso di Erodoto, l'ordine può essere dato dall'oggetto stesso della lista: vale a dire, dalla genealogia (l'ordine delle generazioni),

⁸ Sulle liste regali egiziane si veda Redford (1986) e Moyer (2002).

⁹ Si veda, ad esempio, la descrizione dell'itinerario di Serse attraverso la penisola calcidica, in 7.122-123. Cfr. Legrand (1932-1954), nota *ad loc.*

dall'itinerario (la successione secondo un percorso) e dalla carta (l'ordine secondo la posizione geografica).

Queste sono dunque le distinzioni che possiamo stabilire tra le liste (e in particolare, tra quelle presenti nel discorso di Erodoto) secondo le loro funzioni, forme, oggetti e ordine interno. Come si può facilmente constatare, alcuni elementi essenziali per la nostra comprensione della narrazione erodotea, come la natura stessa del suo interesse etnogeografico, sono richiamati in queste distinzioni.

Si possono, però, aggiungere a queste tipologie altri criteri di classificazione delle liste, che permettono di evidenziarne il ruolo narrativo in Erodoto. Dato che le liste riguardano gli elementi di un insieme, è possibile domandare: (a) se tutti gli elementi sono menzionati; (b) se si dice il numero degli elementi elencati; (c) se si aggiungono informazioni su ogni elemento della lista; (d) se si menzionano elementi che non fanno parte dell'insieme.

Le diverse risposte a queste domande danno origine a differenti forme di lista, di cui offriamo ora esempi erodotei.

(a) Le liste possono essere *complete* quando si cerca di enumerare tutti gli elementi di un insieme:

I Persiani sacrificano al sole, alla luna, alla terra, al fuoco, all'acqua e ai venti. A *essi soli* sacrificano fin dalle origini (1.131.2-3)¹⁰.

Il narratore può invece indicare che non ha tutto elencato:

Presso i Libi agricoltori ci sono i serpenti immani e i leoni, gli elefanti, orsi e aspidi, gli asini con le corna, i testa di cane, i senza testa, che hanno gli occhi sul petto come almeno raccontano i Libi, gli uomini selvaggi e le donne selvagge, e *una quantità di molti altri animali* non inventati (4.191.4).

Mescolati però c'erano anche uomini di altri popoli: Frigi, Misi, Traci, Peoni e *altri ancora*, anche Etiopi ed Egizi chiamati Ermotibi e Calasiri armati di spada... (9.32.1)¹¹

¹⁰ Per i passi erodotei seguiamo da vicino le traduzioni di V. Antelami (libro 1), A. Fraschetti (libri 2-4; 8-9) e G. Nenci (libri 5-6), pubblicate nell'edizione Valla (Erodoto, *Le Storie*, Milano 1988 ss.); e di D. Izzo D'Accinni (libro 7) (Erodoto, *Storie*, Milano 1984), senza però indicare ogni volta in cui da esse ci discostiamo.

¹¹ Altre volte può non restare chiaro se tutti gli elementi dell'insieme sono stati menzionati, o se si è trattato di una selezione da parte del narratore: "noi (le Amazzoni) tiriamo con l'arco, scagliamo giavellotti e andiamo a cavallo, mentre non abbiamo appreso i lavori femminili" (Hdt. 4.114.3).

(b) ci sono delle liste dove non è detto il numero degli elementi elencati. Tra i molteplici esempi erodotei di liste *non numeriche*, possiamo ricordare la genealogia pronunciata da Serse:

Che io non sia nato da Dario figlio di Istaspe, figlio di Arsame, figlio di Ariaramne, figlio di Teispe, figlio di Ciro, figlio di Cambise, figlio di Teispe, figlio di Achemene, se non mi vendico degli Ateniesi... (7.11.2).

In altri casi, invece, si indica il numero degli elementi, prima, durante o dopo l'enunciazione della lista:

Ci sono *sette* specie di Egiziani, e di essi alcuni sono chiamati i sacerdoti, altri i guerrieri, i pastori, i porcari, i bottegai, gli interpreti, i piloti (2.164).

Si possono notare alcune importanti caratteristiche delle *liste numeriche*. Il numero degli elementi è, alle volte, tanto o più rilevante degli elementi stessi, che possono variare. Così avviene, ad esempio, nelle diverse liste dei sette sapienti, di cui Platone ci offre la prima enumerazione¹². Anche in Erodoto possiamo immaginare che la frequente indicazione del numero degli elementi elencati ricopra un ruolo preciso all'interno del discorso.

Tra le liste numeriche ("numerical sayings") si può distinguere il caso particolare delle liste numeriche "graduate" ("graded numerical dictum"), dove, alla prima enumerazione con "n" elementi, segue un'altra con "n+1" elementi¹³. Trattasi di una sequenza regolare, che trova riscontro in alcuni testi biblici, ma di cui si possono ricordare anche degli esempi greci¹⁴. Così in Erodoto:

Per questo motivo, le cinque città, Lindo, Ialiso, Camiro, Cos e Cnido, esclusero dalla partecipazione Alicarnasso, la sesta città (1.144)¹⁵.

¹² Pl., *Prot.* 343 a: "tra questi (sapienti) furono Talete di Mileto, Pittocle di Mitilene, Biante di Priene, il nostro Solone, Cleobulo di Lindo, Misone di Chene, e, *settimo* tra questi, si diceva lo spartano Chilone". Avviene spesso che la lista sia ricordata più per il numero degli elementi che per l'elemento stesso, come, ad esempio, nel caso biblico dei dodici apostoli: cfr. Marco 3:16-19.

¹³ Numerical sayings (e liste n/n+1): cfr. Roth (1965); Towner (1973) 6-8.

¹⁴ "Sei cose odia il Signore, anzi sette gli sono in abominio" (*Prov.* 6:16). Un esempio platonico: "ci sono tre forme a partire dalle quali si combinano i piedi, così come ce ne sono quattro dei suoni, da cui derivano tutte le armonie" (Pl., *Resp.* 400a, trad. di M. Vegetti).

¹⁵ Roth (1965) 27 apporta altri due esempi erodotei, *Hdt.* 2.16 ("I Greci e gli stessi Ioni sono incapaci di far calcoli quando dicono che tutta la terra si compone di tre parti: Europa, Asia e Libia. Bisogna infatti che come quarta parte aggiungano al conto il Delta di Egitto")

(c) Quanto alla menzione degli elementi della lista, si possono distinguere le liste “pure”, sprovviste di racconto:

I nomi degli Ermotibi sono i seguenti: Busiritico, Saitico, Chemmitico, Papremítico, l'isola chiamata Prosopitide, la metà di Nato (2.165).

E le liste accompagnate da precisazioni o commenti semplici, alle volte soltanto parole o brevi sentenze aggiunte a ciascun elemento¹⁶:

... così come ora sono dodici le ripartizioni degli Achei che hanno cacciato gli Ioni: Pellene è la prima verso Sicione, seguono quindi Aigeira e Aigai, dove c'è il fiume Crati dalle acque perenni e da cui ebbe il nome il fiume d'Italia; e Bura ed Elice, dove fuggirono gli Ioni sconfitti in battaglia dagli Achei; quindi Aigion, Rypes, Patre, Phara e Oleno, dove c'è il grande fiume Peiros ... (1.145).

Altre volte le liste sono frammezzate da racconti lunghi e complessi. Si tratta di un caso particolarmente importante per la composizione della narrazione di Erodoto. La lista dei re d'Egitto, ad esempio, pur menzionata di forma incompleta rispetto a quanto ascoltato dai sacerdoti egiziani, compone una lunga parte del *logos* egiziano (2.99-143).

(d) Possiamo distinguere, poi, le liste “inclusive”, in cui tutti gli elementi partecipano delle proprietà dell'insieme:

Le stirpi dei Medi sono tante: Busai, Paretakenoi, Struchates, Arizantoi, Budioi, Magoi. Le stirpi dei Medi sono appunto queste (1.101).

E le liste in cui uno o più elementi sono esclusi dall'insieme, un caso che ricorre con frequenza nella narrazione erodotea:

noi (le Amazzoni) tiriamo con l'arco, scagliamo giavellotti e andiamo a cavallo, mentre non abbiamo appreso i lavori femminili (4.114.3).
Le altre città di questi sette popoli, a parte quelle che ho elencato, rimasero fuori dalla mischia (8.73.3).

e Hdt. 2.20-24 (“Tuttavia alcuni Greci... hanno proposto tre diverse spiegazioni: due di esse non le giudico neppure degne di essere ricordate, se non in quanto voglio solo segnalarle... La terza spiegazione... è anche la più falsa... Se, biasimate le opinioni proposte, bisogna che io stesso esponga un'opinione su questi argomenti oscuri, dirò...”). Si noti che almeno in questi passi erodotei non abbiamo una contrapposizione tra due “insiemi”, ma tra un elemento di un insieme e gli altri elementi dello stesso insieme.

¹⁶ Queste parole possono essere alle volte ripetute per i vari termini della lista: è un caso ricorrente in alcuni testi biblici, come quello di Daniele. Cfr. Coxon (1986) 108-111.

Tutti costoro, a parte i due enumerati per primi dopo Leotichida, furono re di Sparta (8.131.3)¹⁷.

Per ognuna di queste classificazioni di liste è possibile dunque trovare esempi in Erodoto e in testi greci dei suoi “predecessori”. Seguire queste distinzioni può avere un significato non soltanto retorico, ma anche storiografico preciso. Abbiamo a che fare con i criteri di rilevanza, selezione ed esposizione dei fatti “storici”.

Nel determinare la particolarità del testo di Erodoto nella presentazione delle liste, si deve, soprattutto, rispondere ad una duplice domanda: (a) chi enuncia la lista, l'autore del racconto o un personaggio? (b) nell'enunciare la lista, si dice che si tratta di una lista? Vi è nel testo una distinzione tra l'enunciazione delle liste e il resto del discorso?

(a) Alla prima questione si può rispondere distinguendo tra le liste che sono enunciate dal narratore:

I nomi degli Ermotibi sono i seguenti: Busiritico, Saitico, Chemmitico, Papremítico, l'isola chiamata Prosopitide, la metà di Nato (2.165).

E le liste che sono enunciate, in discorso diretto o indiretto, da un personaggio, come nel caso della genealogia di Serse:

Che io non sia nato da Dario figlio di Istaspe, figlio di Arsame, figlio di Ariaramne, figlio di Teispe, figlio di Ciro, figlio di Cambise, figlio di Teispe, figlio di Achemene, se non mi vendico degli Ateniesi ... (7.11.2).

(b) Alla seconda questione, si può rispondere individuando i casi in cui il narratore rende esplicita la natura “catalogica” del discorso. Questo può avvenire sia per l'aspetto formale (se la lista è presentata “sotto forma di lista”), sia invece per mezzo di una precisazione lessicale:

Le altre città di questi sette popoli, a parte quelle che *ho elencato* (πάρεξ τῶν κατέλεξα), rimasero fuori dalla mischia (8.73.3).

¹⁷ A questo modo di riferire le liste, che riscontriamo spesso nel testo erodoteo, si può accostare la formula della Priamel, già studiata da Franz Dornseiff per il mondo greco (cfr. Race (1982)), in cui si accentua, per contrasto, l'ultimo elemento “elencato”; un noto esempio biblico in Luca 9:58: “Le volpi hanno le loro tane e gli uccelli del cielo i loro nidi, ma il Figlio dell'uomo non ha dove posare il capo”.

Esempi come questo sono particolarmente importanti: essi rivelano che, nonostante le differenze che si possono notare tra le liste (secondo il loro oggetto, funzione, ecc.), si tratta, per il narratore, della stessa e particolare tipologia di discorso (λόγος).

In questo caso, sono richieste forme lessicali precise per indicare la lista, o l'atto di elencare. Nell'esempio dato, si tratta del verbo καταλέγειν. Nell'utilizzare questo verbo, il narratore implica, in principio, soltanto che il suo λόγος, o il suo λέγειν, ha la particolarità che gli è conferita dal prefisso κατα-, sia essa l'ordine, la sequenzialità o la ripetizione. È l'analisi del termine nelle sue varie occorrenze che può mostrare se di fatto vi sia la consapevolezza dell'atto di elencare, di comporre un "catalogo".

2. ΚΑΤΑΛΕΓΕΙΝ IN ERODOTO

Fino a Tucidide non troviamo sostantivi corrispondenti a "lista". Tucidide è il primo, per noi, a parlare di κατάλογος. Questo termine è assente in Omero e in Erodoto. Tucidide menziona il *catalogo* delle navi in Omero e usa il sostantivo anche per le liste militari¹⁸. Da queste occorrenze si può dedurre che il termine fosse di uso corrente già prima di lui.

Erodoto, come Omero, conosce il verbo καταλέγειν¹⁹. Ma Omero non l'utilizza quando espone il catalogo delle navi, che Tucidide chiama κατάλογος νεῶν. Nell'epica, quel verbo non significa, in modo specifico, "dire una lista": siamo, genericamente, nel campo del racconto, che si può delimitare per mezzo di attributi che indicano la precisione, la completezza, la regolarità o la verità²⁰. Si tratta spesso di dire un racconto vero, non necessariamente pronunciato dall'aedo: anzi, con frequenza riguarda l'enunciazione "ordinaria" dei personaggi, specie nell'*Odissea*. La particolarità di καταλέγειν nei poemi omerici non

¹⁸ Thuc. 1.10; 6.26, 31, 43; 7.16, 20; 8.24. Per possibili termini corrispondenti a "lista" in sumero-accadico, cfr. Edzard-Veenhof (1996) 138.

¹⁹ Per l'uso di καταλέγειν e la presenza dei cataloghi in Erodoto si veda Payen (1997) 97-105. Cfr. anche Dorati (2000) 136-140, e bibliografia ivi citata.

²⁰ Si veda, ad esempio, *Il.* 10.384, 413, 427 (il verbo è accompagnato da ἀτρεκέως); *Od.* 1.206 (ἀτρεκέως); 4.239 (ἐοικότα); 8.496 (κατὰ μοῖραν), 572 (ἀτρεκέως); 22.420 (ἀληθείην), ecc. Su καταλέγειν in Omero cfr. Perceau (2002); Butti de Lima (2003) e la bibliografia ivi citata.

corrisponde né all'espressione propriamente poetica, né all'enunciazione di un catalogo.

Ci si può di conseguenza domandare quale sia l'uso che fa Erodoto del verbo che è all'origine della parola κατάλογος, ma che nell'epica indica un modo di dire o di raccontare di cui si accentuano certi attributi ricorrenti nelle pratiche narrative. Qual è il rapporto, nella narrazione erodotea, tra l'uso di καταλέγειν e l'enunciazione delle liste?

Constatiamo subito che questo verbo, a differenza di ἱστορεῖν utilizzato da Erodoto per parlare di ciò che fa, rivela una "modalità" del λέγειν, un modo per precisare la natura del λόγος tra le forme di enunciazione. Mentre la ἱστορίη enunciata dall'autore del racconto rinvia a ciò che precede il discorso (τὰ ἱστορημένα: il risultato della sua attività), καταλέγειν esprime un rapporto presente tra il narratore e il suo pubblico ("io ve lo dico in un modo particolare").

Ci sono più di trenta occorrenze del verbo καταλέγειν in Erodoto, compreso il senso di arruolamento militare²¹. Possiamo analizzare queste occorrenze a partire da tre situazioni distinte, a sapere:

(a) si possono individuare dei passi in cui il verbo sembra richiamare direttamente l'uso epico: si indica, in questo modo, la filiazione e la provenienza di un individuo. In corrispondenza a questa doppia procedura di identificazione, il verbo passa a designare il campo della genealogia e della descrizione etnogeografica;

(b) in secondo luogo, possiamo osservarne l'uso da parte dei vari personaggi delle *Storie*: in modo particolare, viene così stabilito un legame tra la catalogazione e il consiglio. In quanto strumento della deliberazione, il verbo connota la "saggezza" di chi prende la parola rispetto a chi ha il potere di decisione, e può quindi caratterizzare la sfera dell'agire politico. Tra i personaggi che ricorrono a questo modo di esposizione e al *consiglio*, si distingue Ecateo, menzionato da Erodoto come "attore" delle *Storie* e "autore" di discorsi;

(c) infine, si deve considerare come Erodoto esplicitamente colleghi il suo discorso, e non soltanto quello dei suoi personaggi, ad una tale espressione verbale. Nell'analizzare il rapporto tra il καταλέγειν del narratore e l'effettiva presenza di "cataloghi", possiamo osservare il ruolo storiografico dell'enunciazione delle liste nel discorso erodoteo.

²¹ Per quest'uso (di cui qui non ci occupiamo) cfr. 1.59.5; 1.98.2; 7.1.2.

1. *Usi “epici”*

Il verbo καταλέγειν può ricorrere in Erodoto in un contesto propriamente epico. Così avviene, ad esempio, nel momento in cui sono riferite le differenti tradizioni su Elena. Secondo i sacerdoti egiziani, Alessandro, approdato in Egitto nel suo viaggio di ritorno da Troia, è condotto da Proteo, che lo interroga:

Proteo chiese ad Alessandro chi fosse e da dove venisse per mare (2.115.2).

Erodoto riporta in discorso indiretto una domanda di identificazione che è ben nota in Omero. La risposta di Alessandro è riferita anch'essa in discorso indiretto:

Alessandro gli espose la sua stirpe [τὸ γένος κατέλεξε: primo elemento di identificazione], gli disse il nome della sua patria [καὶ τῆς πατρὸς εἶπε τὸ οὔνομα: secondo elemento di identificazione] e gli raccontò (ἀπηγήσατο) anche la sua navigazione, da dove facesse vela [la descrizione del percorso] (2.115.2)²².

Alessandro καταλέγει, ovvero, espone la sua origine. In questo caso, il verbo indica l'atto di dire il patronimico, e non la provenienza. Nel rivelare la filiazione, esso passa a caratterizzare il campo genealogico.

Troviamo un altro esempio di questo uso quando Erodoto ricorda i procedimenti di identificazione tra i Lici:

Se uno domanda al vicino chi sia, questo si presenterà (καταλέξει) con il nome della madre ed elencherà (ἀνανεμέεται) le madri della madre²³.

Come nel caso precedente, καταλέγειν esprime il primo elemento di identificazione, ravvicinato al dire le genealogie, al “fare la lista” degli antenati.

²² È stato spesso suggerito che il racconto erodoteo derivi qui da Ecateo: cfr. Diels (1887) 441-444 (e prima di lui A. von Gutschmid); How-Wells (1928), comm. *ad loc.*; Lloyd (1975), comm. *ad loc.* Sui procedimenti narrativi adoperati cfr. Calame (2000) 149-151. Questo modo di presentarsi è unico in Erodoto, ma si può notare che la questione viene ancora posta da Creso (senza καταλέγειν) ad Adrasto: “Uomo, chi sei e da quale parte della Frigia vieni a farti supplice al mio focolare?” (Hdt. 1.35.3).

²³ Hdt. 1.173.5. Per l'uso erodoteo di ἀνανεμέσθαι in rapporto a καταλέγειν in questo passo si veda Suida, s.v. ἀνανέμειν.

Possiamo ancora menzionare un caso diverso, nel racconto erodoteo, di “reminiscenza” omerica, non più riferito alla genealogia. Serse domanda a Pizio, un lidio, quali fossero le sue ricchezze. Pizio gli risponde:

O re, non te lo celerò (οὔτε σε ἀποκρύψω) né mi appoggerò al pretesto di non conoscere l'ammontare dei miei averi, ma te lo rivelerò con esattezza, poiché lo so bene (ἀλλ' ἐπιστάμενός τοι ἄτρεκέως καταλέξω) (7.28.1).

Inserito in una formula omerica, il verbo sembra suggerire che Pizio espose le sue ricchezze sotto forma di lista²⁴. Le liste dei beni, indicate con καταλέγειν, sono presenti sia in Omero, sia in Erodoto²⁵.

2. Le liste e il consiglio

Sono molti i personaggi che ricorrono al καταλέγειν nelle *Storie*. Come abbiamo visto, le Amazzoni enumerano le attività maschili da loro praticate, e Pizio enumera i suoi beni²⁶. Anche le parole di personaggi più noti, come Artabano, Milziade, Temistocle e Serse sono caratterizzate da quel verbo.

Possiamo notare due aspetti particolari del καταλέγειν dei personaggi nel racconto erodoteo. In primo luogo, il verbo può suggerire la presenza di un elenco che di fatto include un numero assai ridotto di elementi (si ricordi, peraltro, che, nel campo genealogico, esso può indicare soltanto la menzione del patronimico). Il verbo svolge in questi casi una funzione retorica di amplificazione. In secondo luogo, spesso questa forma di espressione dei personaggi è collegata al *consiglio*. La parola del consigliere e quella del narratore possono avere in comune non solo la consapevolezza delle conseguenze delle decisioni e dello svolgere degli avvenimenti, ma anche il fatto di dire la verità attraverso la procedura di elencazione. L'espressione della verità permette spesso di rivelare il contrasto tra il momento della deliberazione e l'esercizio del potere.

²⁴ “...e facendo il conto trovai che avevo due mila talenti d'argento e in oro mi mancavano sette mila stateri darici per raggiungere i quattro milioni” (Hdt. 7.28.2).

²⁵ In *Il.* 9. 262, Odisseo καταλέγει ad Achille i beni che riceverà da Agamennone. Eumeo, in *Od.* 14.99, enumera ad Odisseo i beni che erano decimati dai pretendenti. In Erodoto, si veda anche 8.106.2. Per il legame tra καταλέγειν e consiglio in Omero cfr. Perceau (2002) 73-90.

²⁶ Hdt. 4.114.3 e 7.28, citati *sopra*.

Serse, dopo essersi riferito ad Atene e al paese di Pelops, aggiunge:

So che è così, né vi sarà città d'uomini o alcun popolo umano che sia in grado di combattere con noi, una volta tolti di mezzo quelli che ho elencato (κατέλεξα) (7.8.γ).

I popoli “elencati” sono soltanto due, Atene e Sparta, ma il verbo suggerisce sia una lista delle città, sia l'insieme dell'Europa che cadrebbe se le due città greche fossero prese.

In un momento di consiglio, Milziade elenca a Callimaco ciò che avranno gli Ateniesi se faranno la guerra: la libertà e la preminenza sulle altre città. Se invece non la faranno, avverrà il contrario “dei beni che ho elencato” (κατέλεξα) (6.109.6). Ancora una volta si fa riferimento ai beni sotto la forma di una lista, mentre in realtà essi erano soltanto due, sia pure di particolare importanza.

Onomacrito, a Susa, davanti a Serse, καταλέγει i suoi oracoli (7.6.4). Erodoto indica che l'indovino di fatto conosceva la verità, anche se la rivelava, strumentalmente, di forma parziale, raccontando solo i successi del Re nella sua futura incursione contro i Greci. Possiamo pensare che ora si tratti del *recitare* gli oracoli²⁷, e che questi oracoli fossero molteplici, tali come trasmessi nella raccolta che circolava sotto il nome di Onomacrito.

Già Temistocle, consigliato da Mnesifilo, si presenta presso Euribiade e “gli racconta tutto quello che aveva ascoltato” (οἱ καταλέγει ἐκεῖνά τε πάντα τὰ ἤκουσε) (8.58.2). In questo caso, seguendo un uso presente nei poemi epici, il verbo indica il racconto completo, l'avere tutto detto, ogni cosa ascoltata. Il καταλέγειν di Temistocle corrisponde al *consiglio*. Mnesifilo è il saggio consigliere di Temistocle, il quale, a sua volta, con il suo elenco-racconto, consiglia e poi delibera bene sulla guerra²⁸.

3. Ecateo

Tra i personaggi di Erodoto, anche Ecateo καταλέγει. Come avviene con altri, anche in questo caso si tratta di un momento di deliberazione e

²⁷ Cfr. Hom., *Od.* 11.151.

²⁸ La figura per eccellenza di consigliere dei re, nelle *Storie* di Erodoto, è rappresentata da Artabano, il quale si rivolge, con i suoi ammonimenti, prima a Dario e poi a Serse. Ad entrambi i re, Artabano consiglia di non procedere alle loro spedizioni guerriere, contro la Scizia e contro i Greci (in questo caso, però, il consiglio iniziale viene poi alterato). Sul consiglio di Artabano a Dario (4.83.1), che si presenta sotto la forma di καταλέγειν, si veda, *infra*, la conclusione di questo lavoro.

consiglio. Più di una volta questo *personaggio* espone delle liste. Tuttavia, Ecateo, oltre che personaggio è, per Erodoto e per noi, *autore*.

La questione “omerica”, “chi sei e da dove vieni?”, che spesso è formulata o a cui si risponde nei poemi con καταλέγειν, indica due campi precisi di discorso che costituiranno l’argomento delle prime opere in prosa, e, in particolare, di quelle ecataiche: la genealogia e la descrizione periegetica²⁹. Al tempo stesso, come ora vedremo, si tratta dei due ambiti di interesse del personaggio Ecateo nella narrazione erodotea.

(a) Per quanto riguarda l’interesse di Ecateo per la genealogia, Erodoto lo menziona nella narrazione dell’incontro con i sacerdoti egiziani a Tebe:

In precedenza, con Ecateo, il λογοποιός, che a Tebe espose la sua genealogia (γενεηλογήσαντι ἑωυτόν), e riallacciava (ἀναδήσαντι) la propria stirpe a un dio come sedicesimo antenato, i sacerdoti di Zeus si comportarono come fecero con me, che pure non esposi la mia (οὐ γενεηλογήσαντι ἑμεωυτόν) (2.143.1).

Esporre la propria genealogia: questa pratica distingue Erodoto da Ecateo. La presenza a Tebe, davanti ai sacerdoti di Zeus, e l’ascolto delle loro parole, è invece quanto accomuna i due “autori”. Introdotto nel tempio, Erodoto vede e ascolta i sacerdoti, che gli “mostrano” (δεικνύντες) le statue dei sommi sacerdoti, le “enumerano” (ἀριθμούντες), “espongono” (διεξιόντες), “indicano” (ἀπέδεξαν) e “dimostrano” (ἀπεδείκνυσαν) quante erano le generazioni precedenti. Nelle forme verbali utilizzate, Erodoto evidenzia le pratiche diverse di discorso: il racconto, l’enumerazione, la dimostrazione. La precisione del racconto (accentuata nel testo dalla particella περ) si aggiunge all’evidenza delle azioni dei sacerdoti, che indicano, *fanno vedere*, l’errore ecataico:

²⁹ Per le *Genealogie* di Ecateo e il problema generale dei discorsi genealogici si veda, ad esempio, West (1985) 11-13, 137; Hartog (1990); Jacob (1994); Payen (1997) 100-105; Bertelli (1998). Per la “genealogia” in Ecateo e il testo di Erodoto, tra memoria collettiva e costruzione della temporalità, si veda Calame (1998). Per una presentazione della *Periegesis* e dei vari peripli cfr. Peretti (1979) e il saggio di Peretti in Prontera (1983) 71-74; Cordano (1992), capitoli III e IV (con bibliografia); Corcella (1992); Romm (1992); Marcotte (2000). Importanti considerazioni sul mondo romano in Nicolet (1989). Per la posizione di Ecateo in quanto “iniziatore” e la sua rappresentazione in Erodoto si veda West (1991); Fowler (1996); Nicolai (1997). Per Ecateo e l’Egitto si veda inoltre Moyer (2002).

A Ecateo che esponeva la sua genealogia e si riallacciava a un dio come sedicesimo antenato, opposero una genealogia fondata sul computo (ἀντεγενεηλόγησαν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀριθμῇσι), non accettando il suo parere che un uomo possa nascere da un dio (2.143.4).

Questa notizia del soggiorno di Erodoto a Tebe è parsa ad alcuni studiosi poco credibile³⁰. Se vi fosse stato presente, Erodoto avrebbe potuto ascoltare direttamente dai sacerdoti l'aneddoto sul suo predecessore. Avrebbe cioè visto i sacerdoti non solo nella loro attività di "contare" e di dimostrare, ma anche nel loro "raccontare" storie ai visitatori. Si è quindi ipotizzato che sono stati altri ad avere *raccontato* quell'episodio. In realtà, lo poteva fare Ecateo stesso nella sua opera: nel riferire il proprio gesto, ricordava ugualmente la critica dei Greci³¹. In effetti, la figura di Ecateo smentito dai sacerdoti è simile a quella dei "Greci" stessi, come da lui menzionati, con i loro racconti falsi e ridicoli: in questo caso, è Ecateo, saggio, a smentire e rifiutare i racconti altrui³². Resta, però, difficile determinare, nella sovrapposizione delle figure dei possibili narratori – sacerdoti, Ecateo, Erodoto, altri greci – la verità del racconto e della sua trasmissione. Tra l'Ecateo λογοποιός e l'Ecateo che è personaggio dei λόγοι altrui i rapporti si mostrano stretti: in entrambi i casi si indica la particolarità del suo modo di espressione e il "luogo" della saggezza.

Ecateo e i sacerdoti sono quindi rappresentati nell'atto di esporre delle liste, cataloghi di nomi. Erodoto parla di comporre genealogie e caratterizza questa forma di discorso con la precisione e la verità. Nella descrizione erodotea, l'atto di dimostrare sembra prevalere su quello di elencare, sull'enunciazione continua e ripetitiva che è altrove indicata con καταλέγειν. Tuttavia, anche se il narratore non ricorre ora a questo verbo per esprimere un modo particolare di *elencazione*, il suo rapporto con le forme genealogiche resta chiaro, come ben lo dimostra un passo precedente del λόγος egiziano.

Si tratta del racconto dei sacerdoti di Menfi, i quali, invece di far vedere le statue dei loro predecessori, leggono in un libro il loro passato.

³⁰ Cfr. West (1991) 147-148, 153, sulla scia di Fehling (1989) 77-86.

³¹ Così come, nel *Timeo* platonico 22a-b, la saggezza di Solone, che racconta lui stesso di essere stato criticato dagli Egiziani, non viene sminuita dalla loro più grande saggezza, dalla quale impara.

³² Altri studiosi hanno invece suggerito che potevano essere i Greci d'Egitto a tramandare questi racconti: cfr. West (1991) 146-147, 154-156; una soluzione "ibrida" in Lloyd (1975) comm. ad II, 143.

Non abbiamo più una successione di sacerdoti, ma di re. Al posto di *γενεαλογεῖν*, ora troviamo *καταλέγειν*:

Dopo costui (Min, il primo re), i sacerdoti enumeravano (*κατέλεγον*) da un libro i nomi di altri trecentotrenta re (2.100.1).

Alla successione delle statue, a ricomporre lo schema genealogico, corrisponde qui la successione regale, genealogica e “catalogica”. Quel gesto di indicare, enumerare e dimostrare dei sacerdoti a Tebe rispecchia la lettura, regolare e precisa, dei sacerdoti. Indirettamente, per mezzo della presenza e sapienza dei sacerdoti, l’atto di esporre le genealogie, praticato da Ecateo, personaggio e autore, viene equiparato a *καταλέγειν*.

(b) Ecateo non è però soltanto l’autore di *γενεαλογίαι* (in un’opera in cui sembra *ἀντιγενεηλογεῖν* a poeti e narratori greci precedenti), ma anche di una *περιήγησις*. Erodoto indica, nel racconto della rivolta ionica, la conoscenza che Ecateo possedeva delle terre e dei popoli. Ancora una volta, questo personaggio non trova ascoltatori disposti ad accettare quanto dice o propone. Ma se, davanti ai sacerdoti egiziani, Ecateo rivela una mancanza di saggezza nell’esporre una lista, ora, durante la rivolta ionica, è con una “lista” che dimostra la sua saggezza. Ecateo assume il ruolo del saggio consigliere, la cui saggezza non è ascoltata³³.

In due momenti Ecateo *consiglia* Aristagora di Mileto, il capo dei rivoltosi ionici. Anche in questi casi egli è soltanto *λογοποιός* — saranno le forme verbali a caratterizzare la peculiarità del suo discorso. Anche ora, però, Ecateo non è visto direttamente per mezzo dei discorsi che ha scritto, ma in quelli che esprime oralmente. Questa sua partecipazione nelle vicende della rivolta ionica sembra riscattarlo dalla responsabilità dei disastri legati alle azioni dei ribelli. Ecateo resta a fianco di Aristagora fino alle ultime e disastrose decisioni del capo milesio, ma le sue proposte non sembrano trovare ascolto³⁴.

³³ Sulla figura del “saggio consigliere” in Erodoto cfr. Lattimore (1939), sulla scia di Bischoff (1932); Fehling (1989), 203-209. Si noti che questa figura di consigliere inascoltato è anzitutto ricoperta dagli antichi sapienti, come Talete o Biante (1.170), a cui Ecateo viene così indirettamente ravvicinato.

³⁴ In un momento di difficoltà, Aristagora convoca i rivoltosi in consiglio, e, prima ancora di ascoltare i presenti, propone la fondazione di una colonia, qualora venissero cacciati da Mileto (5.124). Ecateo espone la sua diversa *γνώμη*, suggerendo di costruire una fortificazione sull’isola di Lero (125), ma non viene ascoltato: “questo consigliava

Ecateo non fu ascoltato già nei momenti iniziali della rivolta ionica. Aristagora si consigliava allora con gli altri rivoltosi: sembra peculiare al suo comportamento, come presentato nell'opera erodotea, questa continua ricerca di compartecipazione. Il parere di Aristagora, naturalmente manifestato per primo, non fu accettato da tutti i convenuti:

E tutti gli altri erano dello stesso parere (γνώμη), suggerendo di ribellarsi, mentre Ecateo, il λογοποιός, in un primo momento non permetteva che s'intraprendesse una guerra contro il re dei Persiani, elencando tutti i popoli (καταλέγων τά τε ἔθνηα πάντα) su cui Dario regnava e la sua potenza (5.36.2).

Il consiglio di Ecateo riveste ora una forma precisa: l'esposizione dei popoli tutti che componevano l'impero persiano. Potevano i rivoltosi dell'Ionia non sapere dell'estensione del dominio persiano? È poco probabile³⁵. Le parole di Ecateo non sembrano lontane dal contenuto della sua *Periegesis*. Incapace di convincere i rivoltosi a rinunciare, Ecateo rivolge a loro una seconda proposta, e, ancora una volta, non viene ascoltato³⁶.

Nei due casi, in Egitto e durante la rivolta in Ionia, Ecateo espone delle liste e si oppone ai suoi interlocutori. Queste liste sembrano coprire l'ambito delle sue due opere, a noi note soltanto di forma frammentaria: le *Genealogie* e la *Periegesi*³⁷.

È in discussione la saggezza espressa da Ecateo per mezzo di questi elenchi. Nel primo caso, Ecateo è "risibile" (come erano risibili, per lui, i λόγοι dei Greci). Ha la sua saggezza negata³⁸. Nel secondo caso, è il saggio consigliere, i cui consigli non vengono seguiti. In particolare, il consiglio di Ecateo prende la forma di una lista, e questa lista è indicata dal verbo καταλέγειν.

(συνεβούλευε) Ecateo; ma per lo stesso Aristagora l'opinione maggioritaria (ἡ πλείστη γνώμη: e cioè, l'opinione di Aristagora insieme a quella della maggior parte dei presenti) era di condurre una colonia a Mircino" (5.126.1).

³⁵ West (1991) 155.

³⁶ Hdt. 5.36.2-4: "Poiché non li persuadeva, in seguito consigliava (συνεβούλευε) di fare in modo di diventare padroni del mare (...). Ma questa opinione (γνώμη) non prevaleva ..."

³⁷ Mazzarino (1965) 75-76, suppone che le informazioni su Ecateo che consiglia Aristagora fossero contenute nelle *Genealogie*, così come quelle sulla genealogia in Egitto. Nenci (1994), comm. *ad loc.*, trova più probabile che le notizie derivassero dagli esuli di Mileto.

³⁸ Si ricordi che la "saggezza" di Ecateo era già negata da Eraclito (fr. 40 D.K.), rivelando una discussione sulla reale natura del sapere da lui esposto nelle sue opere.

4. *Erodoto*

Non solo Ecateo, ma anche Erodoto *καταλέγει* nelle *Storie*, e in particolare nei due campi ricoperti dal suo predecessore. Nell'indagare sull'uso di questo verbo riferito al discorso erodoteo, dobbiamo chiedere, in particolare, se esso indichi la presenza effettiva di liste dietro la costruzione del racconto, e in quale modo il *καταλέγειν* dei personaggi si relazioni a quello del narratore.

(a) *Le genealogie di Erodoto*

Vari personaggi, nel racconto di Erodoto, espongono le loro genealogie, come Serse o Ecateo. In particolare, le catene genealogiche sono ricordate per i re spartani e queste lunghe liste di nomi sono incorporate nella narrazione:

Ma quello che era più ammirato e che guidava tutto l'esercito era lo spartano Leonida, figlio di Anassandrida, figlio di Leone, figlio di Euricratide, figlio di Anassandro, figlio di Euricrate, figlio di Polidoro, figlio di Alcamene, figlio di Telecle, figlio di Archelao, figlio di Agesilao, figlio di Dorisso, figlio di Labote, figlio di Echestrato, figlio di Agide, figlio di Euristene, figlio di Aristodemo, figlio di Aristomaco, figlio di Cleodeo, figlio di Illo, figlio di Eracle, avendo ottenuto inaspettatamente il regno a Sparta (7.204).

L'espressione catalogica diviene, con gli Spartani, un elemento importante di riconoscimento, e in quanto tale è ripresa dal narratore, che spiega in questo modo l'origine della loro regalità. La stessa attenzione è presente nel caso del comandante Leotichida:

Era stratego e navarco Leotichida, figlio di Menare, figlio di Agesilao, figlio di Ippocratida, figlio di Leotichida, figlio di Anassilao, figlio di Archidamo (...), figlio di Illo, figlio di Eracle, che apparteneva a una delle famiglie reali (8.131.2).

Anche Erodoto dice le genealogie, e il racconto genealogico partecipa pienamente del suo discorso. Anche questo procedimento viene *riferito* con *καταλέγειν*. Il verbo è adoperato per indicare l'atto di elencare o recitare la lunga serie dei patronimici regali:

Tutti costoro, a parte i due enumerati (*καταλεχθέντων*) per primi dopo Leotichida, furono re di Sparta (8.131.3)³⁹.

³⁹ Per altri esempi di catene genealogiche in Erodoto (per il re spartano Pausania cfr. 9.64), cfr. How-Wells (1928), *comm. ad* 7.204. Sulle liste genealogiche di re spartani in Erodoto cfr. Prakken (1940); Mazzarino (1965) 156-158. Ampia argomentazione e

Tra gli Spartani che raccontano genealogie, i “Greci” che ne parlano ed Erodoto che le mette a confronto, la distanza è breve. Dopo avere presentato la versione dei Lacedemoni — “in disaccordo con tutti i poeti” — sulle ragioni della preminenza di una delle loro stirpi regali (6.52.1), Erodoto ritorna alle tradizioni propriamente greche:

Tra i Greci solo i Lacedemoni raccontano (λέγουσι) questo; io scrivo (ἐγὼ γράφω) invece quello che raccontano (τὰ λεγόμενα) i Greci: che questi re dei Dori sono elencati (καταλεγόμενους) esattamente dai Greci fino a Perseo, figlio di Danae, non contando il dio, e sono descritti (ἀποδεικνυμένους) come Greci (...). Ho detto quindi fino a Perseo seguendo un ragionamento corretto. Ma a chi voglia elencare (καταλέγοντι) da Danae, figlia di Acrisio, a ritroso tutti i loro padri, apparirebbe che i capi dei Dori sono discendenti diretti degli Egizi (6.53.1-2).

Come avviene nel caso dei sacerdoti egiziani, quest’atto di elencare in ordine genealogico i nomi dei re è espresso con καταλέγειν, ed è identificato con il termine proprio del comporre le genealogie:

Questa genealogia è quella che raccontano i Greci; invece, secondo il racconto fatto dai Persiani, Perseo ... (6.54)

Logoi greci, egiziani, persiani — e il *logos* stesso erodoteo — vengono così indicati nella loro particolarità di καταλέγειν e γενεηλογεῖν. La consapevolezza di questo processo è favorita dal confronto tra i racconti diversi e dalla presa di distanza da questi racconti. La discendenza da Eracle è il tema ricorrente di queste genealogie; di conseguenza, sono soprattutto gli Spartani ad esservi coinvolti. Sarà poi Platone (*Theaet.*, 175 a-b) a ricorrere al termine κατάλογος per esprimere tali sequenze genealogiche, le quali risalgono ad Eracle, come nel caso, più di una volta ricordato da Erodoto, dei re di Sparta.

(b) *Erodoto periegeta*

La genealogia è soltanto un aspetto dell’enunciazione indicata con καταλέγειν. Più spesso, il verbo serve a caratterizzare le descrizioni etnogeografiche. Siamo nello stesso campo del καταλέγειν τὰ ἔθνηα di Ecateo, il secondo elemento di identificazione e di racconto nell’epica

bibliografia in Vannicelli (1993) 35-45. Sui passi erodotei si veda De Vido (2001), a cui si rinvia anche per ulteriore bibliografia. Ma non solo gli Spartani sono oggetto di genealogie in Erodoto: cfr. anche, ad esempio, la genealogia di Serse in 7.11.2. Per un quadro comparativo delle forme di genealogia in culture diverse cfr. West (1985) 11-30. Sull’uso che fa Erodoto delle varie liste genealogiche si veda Burkert (1995).

(“da dove vieni?”). Le descrizioni etnogeografiche occupano una parte cospicua delle *Storie* erodotee, e richiedono un confronto continuo del narratore con liste di popoli e di luoghi. Spesso riportate nel testo, queste liste sembrano offrire uno schema sul quale costruire la narrazione, per cui siamo portati a pensarle come *preesistenti*. In effetti, il richiamo a tali liste si fa sentire anche quando non sono completamente riprodotte.

Apprendiamo, ad esempio, che molte sono le stirpi degli Indiani, ma Erodoto ne parla genericamente, senza nominarle⁴⁰. Nel rivelarne, però, i tratti comuni, il narratore, attraverso l'uso di *καταλέγειν*, fa supporre un'enumerazione precedente, anche se incompleta (o forse solo in parte ripresa nel testo):

Questi Indiani che ho passato in rassegna (τῶν κατέλεξα) si accoppiano tutti in pubblico come le bestie ed hanno tutti lo stesso colore della pelle, simile a quello degli Etiopi (3.101.1).

Erodoto non soltanto procede all'enumerazione dei popoli, ma mette in rilievo la specificità di questo procedimento tra le forme di enunciazione. Le digressioni etnogeografiche sono spesso riferite con il verbo *καταλέγειν*, che ne indica l'ordine e la sequenzialità, la forma dell'elenco e alle volte anche la completezza.

Questo verbo può anche indicare l'*insieme* della digressione periegetica. Nel *logos* sulla Libia, Erodoto menziona la collina delle Cariti, che è piena di alberi, mentre il resto della Libia che “ho prima elencato” (τῆς προκαταλεχθείσης, l'unica occorrenza di *προκαταλέγειν*) è senza vegetazione (4.175.2). Il verbo ha qui per oggetto un termine al singolare: la molteplicità è sottintesa nel “dire” in quanto narrare o descrivere (la molteplicità dei luoghi, popoli e altro di) una regione geografica. In effetti, sempre riferendosi a quanto da lui esposto nel *logos* libico, Erodoto aggiungerà:

Fino agli Atlanti posso elencare (καταλέξαι) i nomi dei popoli che abitano sul ciglione, dopo di loro non più (4.185.1).

Agli estremi della terra conosciuta, la “storia” di Erodoto si fa periegesi, nei modi precisi della narrazione ordinata e completa.

⁴⁰ Hdt. 3.98.3: ἔστι δὲ πολλὰ ἔθνη Ἰνδῶν ... 98.4: οὗτοι μὲν τῶν Ἰνδῶν ... 99.1: ἄλλοι δὲ τῶν Ἰνδῶν ... 100.1: ἐτέρων δὲ ἔστι Ἰνδῶν ...

(c) *Erodoto e Aristagora*

Ecateo sconsigliava di fare la guerra a Dario “elencando tutti i popoli” su cui dominava (5.36.2). Curiosamente sarà lo stesso capo dei rivoltosi ionici, sordo ai consigli di Ecateo, a fare uso di questo sapere periegetico. Aristagora, a Sparta, mostra al re Cleomene un disegno della terra, dove sono presenti tutti i mari e le terre: la carta è una specie di catalogo completo⁴¹. Nel farla vedere, Aristagora indica le ricchezze dei popoli sotto il dominio del Re: Lidi, Frigi, Cappadoci, Cilici (e Cipro), Armeni, Matieni, Cissia, dove, presso il fiume Coaspe, si trova Susa, la residenza del Re. Cleomene in seguito si informa sulla strada per Susa, a partire dal mare degli Ioni, e rifiuta, di conseguenza, il “consiglio” di Aristagora a causa della distanza che separa il mondo greco dal centro del potere persiano.

Ciò che Aristagora mostrava sulla carta corrisponde, nell'ordine dei popoli enumerati, al percorso dalla Ionia fino a Susa, la cui distanza scoraggia Cleomene. Erodoto descrive in seguito questo itinerario (5.52-54). Nell'enumerare popoli, regioni e fiumi, tali come presenti sulla carta di Aristagora e da lui descritti, Erodoto ricorre, per una volta, al verbo *καταλέγειν*:

Il primo dei fiumi che ho menzionato (*καταλεχθείς*: di cui ho fatto l'elenco) scorre dall'Armenia, l'ultimo dai Matieni (5.52.4).

Il *καταλέγειν* di Erodoto corrisponde a quanto era indicato da Aristagora a Cleomene. Ricordiamo che Ecateo *elencava* i popoli dominati da Dario (ciò che si poteva anche mostrare sulla carta). Il *consiglio* di Ecateo agli Ioni, a partire dal suo *καταλέγειν*, va in direzione opposta a quello di Aristagora a Cleomene. Sia il saggio consiglio di Ecateo, sia il meno saggio consiglio di Aristagora a Cleomene non sono ascoltati.

(d) *Erodoto e Serse*

Il catalogo delle forze di Serse, nel settimo libro delle *Storie*, è stato paragonato al catalogo omerico delle navi. È il primo dei due grandi cataloghi che compongono il racconto di Erodoto in questo libro. Si è spesso discusso quale sia la corrispondenza tra questo catalogo e la lista

⁴¹ 5.49.1. Per il contrasto tra il consiglio di Ecateo e la dimostrazione di Aristagora cfr. Canfora (2001), 260-261. Un curioso parallelismo con il *καταλέγειν* di Ecateo (così come con quello di Artabano, vedi *infra*), che espone il *potere* del Re persiano, si trova nella *Settima lettera* di Platone (327 e), laddove però è Dione chi *καταλέγει* il potere di Dionisio sull'Italia e la Sicilia.

dei tributi, nel terzo libro, e quale fosse l'origine delle informazioni erodotee, per la quale è stata più volte ricordata l'opera di Ecateo.

Il catalogo delle forze persiane viene preceduto da un discorso di Serse, in cui il re elenca ciò che è necessario conquistare per diventare il signore di tutto il mondo. Come abbiamo visto, si tratta in realtà della conquista di Atene e Sparta. La narrazione *completa* corrisponde alla dimensione mondiale del dominio persiano. È una grandezza geografica, data dall'esporsi la "lista" delle due città (7.8.γ, *cit. sopra*). La vicinanza del verbo alla menzione di tutte le città e popoli rende al passo una precisa dimensione periegetica.

La rassegna delle truppe persiane è dettagliata. Erodoto accentua l'importanza delle forze orientali, in un quadro che serve da sfondo, per ben due volte, a dialoghi di Serse. Il primo di questi dialoghi viene intrapreso tra il Re e Artabano, suo zio e consigliere (7.45-53). Il secondo dialogo avviene invece tra Serse e Demarato, il re lacedemone in esilio, già consigliere anche lui del Re, e anche ora a dire la verità, interrogato da Serse dopo la rassegna dell'esercito e della flotta (7.101-105). Con questi elenchi di popoli e comandanti, con l'enumerazione dei combattenti, Erodoto accentua la precisione di una narrazione che non sembra nulla trascurare, e assume un tono epico nel dettaglio e nella completezza. I dialoghi di Serse, volti a illuminare il contrasto tra la grandezza della spedizione, il potere del sovrano, e la sconfitta persiana, integrano così, in un quadro significativo, le varie procedure di *elencazione* che Erodoto realizza nel suo discorso.

Il verbo καταλέγειν non viene, però, utilizzato per riferire il catalogo delle forze persiane⁴². Esso ricompare nel momento successivo, durante il percorso di Serse dall'Ellesponto fino alla Macedonia (7.105-131), un percorso speculare a quello asiatico che indicava la strada dagli Ioni fino a Susa. La narrazione erodotea assume qui un tono chiaramente periegetico, una περιήγησις scandita dall'uso regolare di quel verbo. Alla menzione delle città e dei luoghi attraversati da Serse, Erodoto aggiunge informazioni e curiosità, notizie geografiche e fatti degni di

⁴² Ad eccezione dell'elenco delle città dominate da Artemisia, e menzionate nell'elenco delle forze di Serse (7.99.3: *κατέλεξα*). Non tutti gli elenchi erodotei vengono, in effetti, accompagnati dall'uso di καταλέγειν, come le grandi liste dei tributi e delle forze persiane: sono casi in cui il narratore non sente il bisogno di richiamarsi alla sua procedura narrativa.

rilievo. Mai forse come in questi passi la sua narrazione riprende la forma che era propria del testo ecataico⁴³.

In questo racconto periegetico si presentano, in successione, luoghi, popoli, curiosità, e si costituiscono cataloghi di ogni tipo. Si elencano, ad esempio, i popoli traci che abitavano il territorio attraversato da Serse: Peti, Ciconi, Bistoni, Sapei, Dersei, Edoni, Satri. Lo storico si mostra consapevole della peculiarità di questo suo modo di procedere:

Quelli che ho elencato (καταλεχθέντες), che abitavano all'interno... (7.110).

Erodoto "passa in rassegna" le popolazioni presenti nell'itinerario percorso dall'esercito di Serse, man mano incorporate alle forze orientali:

E conduceva con sé tutte queste popolazioni e quelle che abitano attorno al monte Pangeo, nello stesso modo di quelle che ho prima elencato (κατέλεξα) (7.115.2).

Percorso narrativo e quadro descrittivo si integrano in queste liste:

... Lipasso, Combrea, Lise, Gigono, Campsa, Smila, Enia. Il territorio di queste città si chiama ancor oggi Crossea. Dopo Enia, che ho per ultimo elencato (καταλέγων) ... (7.123.2-3).

Agli elenchi di popoli e di città si aggiungono, infine, i fiumi interessati dal percorso persiano (7.127.2: καταλεχθέντων). È l'insieme dell'itinerario di Serse che si dispone in forma periegetica secondo un processo di elencazione che si esprime con καταλέγειν⁴⁴.

⁴³ Si veda, ad esempio, l'inizio tipicamente periegetico della narrazione: "(Serse), marciando da Dorisco, oltrepassò prima di tutto i luoghi fortificati dei Samotraci dei quali l'estrema città abitata verso occidente è quella che ha nome Mesembria. Confinante con questa è la città dei Tasi, Strime; in mezzo ad essa scorre il fiume Liso, che allora non fu sufficiente a fornire acqua all'esercito di Serse. Questa regione prima veniva chiamata Gallaica, ora Briantica, ma in realtà, secondo l'opinione più giusta, anch'essa appartiene ai Ciconi. Attraversato il corso disseccato del fiume Liso, ecc." (7.108.2-3). Per la constatazione della presenza di dettagli "non necessari" nella narrazione della marcia di Serse, con il suggerimento che si tratti di dettagli geografici "tratti da qualche opera periegetica", cfr. Legrand (1932-1954), vol. 7, 51-56.

⁴⁴ Cfr. ancora l'uso di καταλέγειν con un riferimento "geografico" in 6.33.2: le terre menzionate, bruciate dai Fenici. Altri "elenchi" indicati da Erodoto con il verbo: 5.72.4 (riferito alle non esplicitate "imprese e gesti di coraggio" di Timesiteo di Delfi); 8.73.3 (città); 9.71.4 (combattenti morti a Platea).

(e) *Erodoto e Artabano*

Nella digressione sugli Sciti, nel quarto libro delle *Storie*, abbiamo uno degli esempi più interessanti del rapporto tra περιήγησις e καταλέγειν. Il verbo permette qui di collegare la narrazione periegetica e la rappresentazione cartografica ai consigli e alle azioni dei personaggi.

Come nel caso del *logos* egiziano, la presentazione degli Sciti risponde all'esigenza di offrire dei racconti sui popoli che erano entrati in conflitto con i re persiani. Dice Erodoto che le conoscenze sugli Sciti sono difficili e poco accessibili, più ancora di quelle sugli Egiziani. Diversamente da quanto avveniva per l'Egitto, dove servivano da motivo conduttore i νόμοι e la genealogia, ora la narrazione si organizza a partire dai νόμοι e dai percorsi etnogeografici. L'informazione è disposta secondo *liste* di toponimi o di *ethne*. La specificità di questa procedura si esprime per mezzo del verbo καταλέγειν.

Sotto il segno della difficoltà della narrazione, ma anche della sua precisione e completezza — elementi caratteristici del καταλέγειν di Omero — Erodoto inizia la digressione⁴⁵:

Che cosa ci sia al di là del territorio di cui mi accingo a parlare in questo racconto (λόγος), nessuno lo sa con esattezza (ἀτρεκέως) (...). Tuttavia, quanto per sentito dire fui in grado di sapere con esattezza (ἀτρεκέως) sulle regioni più lontane, lo dirò tutto (πᾶν εἰρήσεται) (4.16).

Questo “tutto dire”, che nell'epica corrispondeva al *racconto* completo, ora assume i connotati della descrizione periegetica. Almeno nella sua prima parte, la narrazione sugli Sciti è incentrata sui percorsi geografici, sulla particolarità del paesaggio e sulla conformazione del territorio. Erodoto richiama esplicitamente questa sua procedura narrativa:

Fino al territorio di questi Sciti, tutta la zona che ho passato in rassegna (καταλεχθεῖσα) è pianeggiante e dal suolo profondo; a partire da qui invece è pietrosa e aspra (4.23.1).

L'oggetto al singolare di καταλέγειν ancora una volta suggerisce la realtà molteplice espressa nelle liste periegetiche. Nel presentare terre ampie e lontane e nel seguire gli itinerari degli eserciti, Erodoto “organizza” la narrazione secondo sequenze precise di nomi di popoli e di luoghi. Disponeva Erodoto di liste preesistenti, che poteva trovare, ad

⁴⁵ Per una presentazione generale della digressione sugli Sciti cfr. Hartog (1980) *passim* (e in particolare 31-51); Corcella (1993), *Introduzione*, XI-XII e i commenti *ad loc.*

esempio, nell'opera di Ecateo? Oppure era questa la sua maniera di comporre narrazioni complesse? Il territorio degli Sciti, *nel suo insieme*, viene visto secondo un modo scandito e regolare di racconto, corrispondente a elenchi etnogeografici:

In tutto il territorio passato in rassegna (ἡ καταλεχθεῖσα πᾶσα χώρα) l'inverno è così rigido che per otto mesi il freddo vi diviene addirittura insopportabile (4.28.1).

Erodoto descrive “tutta la terra” degli Sciti sotto la forma dell'elenco — e ancora di più, possiamo aggiungere, della *carta*. Nel guardare a terre distanti e varie, il narratore ricorre a questo duplice “piano”: le liste e il disegno⁴⁶. A partire dalla posizione degli Sciti, viene considerata, nella sua disposizione geografica, *tutta* la Terra — Asia, Libia, Europa — in un confronto continuo e tacito con quanti ne avevano parlato. Come Ecateo, Erodoto trova “ridicole” le posizioni dei suoi predecessori:

Rido nel vedere che molti ormai hanno disegnato carte geografiche della Terra, ma che non hanno intelligenza per spiegarle (4.36.2)⁴⁷.

Ed è colpito dai loro procedimenti:

Mi meraviglio quindi di coloro che hanno separato e diviso la terra in Libia, Asia ed Europa: le differenze tra di esse non sono piccole (4.42.1).

Alla divisione della Terra segue l'attenzione per ogni sua parte, e si riprende quanto è stato detto sull'argomento: in particolare, viene ricordata la spedizione di Dario e il periplo di Scilace di Carianda. Vera digressione nella digressione, questa visione di tutta la Terra nella sua rappresentazione grafica e nella sua descrizione altro non è che un allargamento dello sguardo che era rivolto alle terre degli Sciti, e, allo stesso tempo, la rivelazione della procedura che orienta la narrazione a partire da descrizioni periegetiche preesistenti.

Nel ritornare alle considerazioni sugli Sciti — sotto la “guida” dell'itinerario di Dario —, Erodoto compone il suo racconto secondo la

⁴⁶ Si può notare che, corrispettivo di καταλέγειν, il termine καταγράφειν assumerà, anche se assai più tardi, un ruolo importante nel vocabolario geografico, mentre καταγραφή assume il senso di “lista” (anche in campo militare, come avviene con κατάλογος) e quindi di “indice”.

⁴⁷ “Non hanno intelligenza”: bisogna ricordare il νόον (ἐχέιν) del frammento di Eraclito (fr. 40 D.K.), riferito, tra gli altri, ad Ecateo.

sequenza dei fiumi presenti nel territorio. Sono enumerati gli otto “celebri fiumi”: l’Istro, il Tira, l’Ipani, il Boristene, il Panticape, l’Ipaciri, il Gerro e il Tanai (4.48-58). A questo elenco periegetico, o, più precisamente, a una sua parte (gli affluenti dell’Istro), ancora una volta si fa riferimento con il verbo *καταλέγειν* (4.50.1)⁴⁸.

Questo verbo indica quindi il modo di organizzazione propriamente periegetico della digressione sugli Sciti e la consapevolezza della particolarità di questo procedimento. La forma di “catalogo” del percorso narrativo sarà stata resa ancora più evidente a Erodoto dal confronto con altro materiale periegetico, che forse era alla base della sua narrazione.

La digressione sulla Scizia svolge un doppio ruolo, attraverso l’enunciazione delle liste: in rapporto agli *attori* degli avvenimenti che stanno per essere narrati e in rapporto all’*autore* del racconto e al suo pubblico. Erodoto offer informazione ai suoi lettori o ascoltatori su quel territorio poco noto, e accentua la scarsa conoscenza che ne era posseduta. Alla narrazione erodotea sembra importante non solo *descrivere* il paese, ma *indicare* la diffusa ignoranza su di esso. Questa mancanza di notizie non riguarda, però, soltanto i Greci — il pubblico cioè del discorso erodoteo —, ma anche Dario, che aveva organizzato la spedizione contro gli Sciti. Tutta la digressione è, allo stesso tempo, l’indicazione delle conoscenze mancate della regione da parte di Dario (e poi l’effettivo attraversamento di quelle terre), e il frutto dell’inchiesta “erodotea” presentata al pubblico greco.

La mancanza di informazioni sugli Sciti da parte dei Persiani — ragione o pretesto per la digressione — era solo in parte vera. Così come, tra i Greci, Erodoto possedeva la conoscenza di quelle terre altrimenti ignote, così, anche tra i Persiani, Artabano, fratello di Dario, poteva rendersi conto delle difficoltà cui il Re andava incontro. Erodoto informa i Greci sul territorio degli Sciti: la sua particolarità geografica,

⁴⁸ Ai dati di tipo geografico seguono infine quelli relativi ai costumi e alle pratiche religiose: forme propriamente narrative, certamente non estranee alla procedura periegetica, ma per le quali il procedimento “catalogico” si mostra meno rilevante. Anche in queste digressioni, forse per trasposizione, troviamo comunque adoperato il verbo *καταλέγειν*, sia per indicare quanto era stato raccontato su Salmoxis (4.95.4: τὰ καταλεχθέντα, “l’elenco” delle sue azioni), sia le attività praticate dalle Amazzoni (4.114.3, citato *sopra*). Un’ultima descrizione etnogeografica viene ancora presentata nel λόγος della Scizia, quando si parla dei re che governavano i territori limitrofi. All’elenco di popoli (4.102.2) segue la menzione dei loro costumi particolari (4.103-117). Nella ripresa del tema narrativo principale, questa breve interruzione etnografica viene riferita nella sua natura digressiva e “catalogica”: “quando i re dei popoli passati in rassegna (*καταλεχθέντων*) furono radunati ...” (4.118.1)

la sua natura ostile, la sua ampiezza; in modo simile Artabano avrebbe informato Dario sui rischi che correva:

Artabano, figlio di Istaspe, che era fratello di Dario, lo pregava di non compiere assolutamente una campagna contro gli Sciti, elencando (καταλέγων) la difficoltà (τὴν ἀπορίην) degli Sciti (4.83.1).

In realtà, quanto “elencato” da Artabano doveva corrispondere a quanto “elencato” da Erodoto, a più riprese, nei passi precedenti della sua narrazione: in altre parole, la digressione stessa, racconto organizzato, catalogico e descrittivo di un popolo sconosciuto dai Greci — il pubblico di Erodoto — e dai Persiani — a incominciare da Dario. La scarsa conoscenza delle terre degli Sciti indica anche l'errore del Re nella sua decisione: Dario non è più propriamente ignaro, una volta ascoltati i consigli del fratello, ma resta chiuso al suo καταλέγειν.

Se il καταλέγειν di Ecateo nell'assemblea ionica sembra corrispondere alla sua περιήγησις, alla sua opera — Ecateo, personaggio e autore, elenca i popoli —, il καταλέγειν di Artabano, che dimostra la difficoltà della spedizione di Dario e cerca di impedirla, sembra ora riferito alla περιήγησις stessa di Erodoto⁴⁹.

Si tratta di una specie di “gioco delle parti”, dove non si vede chiaramente chi dice le liste e chi *consiglia*, queste liste e questi consigli a comporre un racconto che è, allo stesso tempo, parola dei personaggi — e “lista degli acquisti”, con indicazioni per il futuro — e parola del narratore, registro del passato, “lista retrospettiva”.

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⁴⁹ Legrand (1932-1954) (in nota a 4.83) rinvia l'*aporia* a 4.46.3, dove si parla dell'impossibilità di catturare gli Sciti, non avendo questo popolo né città né mura. Si noti, però, che, in seguito (5.47), Erodoto “spiega” a sua volta questa loro caratteristica secondo la conformazione geografica del territorio: “hanno escogitato questo tipo di vita poiché la terra è adatta e i fiumi sono loro alleati”. Nella prima parte, almeno, della digressione sono la terra e i fiumi a costituire l'oggetto del discorso erodoteo. Per il rapporto tra il consiglio di Artabano e la digressione sulla Scizia si veda in particolare Payen (1997), 101-102.

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DA XANTO ALLA SUDA E OLTRE

Abstract: This paper reexamines two fragments of Xanthus the Lydian, transmitted by the Suda Lexicon. Both fragments, also attested in a similar form in two Byzantine authors, may be attributed to a *Mittelquelle*, namely to Claudius Aelianus, because of lexical affinities.

Come molti altri lemmi della Suda anche la voce Ξάνθος (ξ 9 Adler) comprende materiali diversi, semplicemente giustapposti e riconoscibili.¹ In particolare essa è costituita da pochi cenni sullo storico e la sua opera, e da due citazioni: una dal II libro della *Storia della Lidia*, relativa al re Gige; l'altra, assai più lunga ma priva di indicazione di libro, relativa ad un altro re lidio, di nome Alcimo, non altrimenti noto:

Ξάνθος, Κανδαύλου, Λυδὸς ἐκ Σάρδεων, ἱστορικός, γεγονώς ἐπὶ τῆς ἀλώσεως Σάρδεων. Λυδιακὰ βιβλία δ'. ἐν δὲ τῷ δευτέρῳ τούτων ἱστορεῖ, ὡς πρῶτος Γύγης ὁ Λυδῶν βασιλεὺς γυναῖκας εὐνούχισεν, ὅπως αὐταῖς χρῶτο ἀεὶ νεαζούσαις. οὗτος ἱστορεῖ ὁ Ξάνθος, Ἄλκιμόν τινα βασιλεῦσαι τῆς ἐκεῖσε χώρας, εὐσεβέστατον καὶ πραότατον ἄνδρα, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι εἰρήνην βαθεῖαν καὶ πλοῦτον πολύν, ἀδεῶς δὲ καὶ ἀνεπιβουλεύτως ζῆν ἕκαστον. εἴτα ἐπειδὴ ἑπτὰ ἔτη ἦν τῷ Ἄλκιμῳ, προελθόντας τοὺς Λυδοὺς παγγενῇ τε καὶ πανδημεὶ προσεῦξασθαι καὶ αἰτῆσαι τῷ Ἄλκιμῳ τοιαῦτα ἔτη δοθῆναι ἐς τὸ Λυδῶν ἀγαθόν: ὃ καὶ γέγονε: καὶ ἐν εὐποτμίᾳ τε καὶ εὐδαιμονίᾳ πολλῇ διῆγον.²

L'argomento di cui intendo occuparmi qui sono appunto le due citazioni. La prima (quella che va da ἐν δὲ τῷ δευτέρῳ fino νεαζούσαις) fu pubblicata da Jacoby come F4b di Xanto (*FGrHist* 765) in quanto corrisponde in parte ma non in toto ad un'analoga citazione di Ateneo (12.515d-e), pubblicata come F4a:

ὁ δ'οὖν Ξάνθος ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ τῶν Λυδιακῶν Ἀδραμύτην φησὶ τὸν Λυδῶν βασιλέα πρῶτον γυναῖκας εὐνούχισαντα χρῆσθαι αὐταῖς ἀντὶ ἀνδρῶν εὐνούχων.

¹ Su di essi ha scritto di recente, in una prospettiva diversa da quella dello scrivente, Gazzano (2010) 118-122; cfr. anche Gazzano (2011) 49-56. A questi due lavori si farà riferimento più avanti.

² Parti del secondo frammento sono citate anche sotto le voci Εὐποτμία (ε 3660 A., dove compare la variazione stilistica ἐν εὐποτμίᾳ τε καὶ εὐδαιμονίᾳ διῆγον πολλῇ) e Πανδημεὶ (π 174 A., dove, in particolare, il testo viene citato in forma leggermente diversa dall'originale (πανδημεὶ δὲ καὶ παγγενῇ ἦλθον οἱ Λυδοὶ παρακαλοῦντες).

Come si può vedere, rispetto ad Ateneo il lessicografo fornisce un diverso nome del re che per primo avrebbe “eunuchizzato” delle donne (Gige anziché Adramytes) e in più una diversa motivazione di tale pratica (poter disporre di donne “eternamente giovani”). Come possiamo spiegare queste divergenze?

Jacoby, com'è noto, non riuscì a portare a compimento il suo commento, a parte qualche occasionale annotazione relativa ai testi pubblicati, e quindi non sappiamo quale fosse il suo pensiero riguardo ai rapporti del F4b col F4a. Qualche considerazione proveremo dunque a farla noi partendo proprio dai predecessori di Jacoby.

Friedrich Creuzer, primo editore dei frammenti degli storici greci, commentando i due brani simili di Ateneo e della Suda, dopo aver ricordato l'ipotesi avanzata dal Vossius e dall'abate Sevin, che cioè entrambe le tradizioni risalissero a Xanto, e il dubbio del Meursius che uno dei due nomi fosse tramandato male, ne propone una tutta sua: la citazione della Suda potrebbe non risalire a Xanto ma a Xenofilo, anch'egli autore di una Storia della Lidia (Λυδιακά) o, subordinatamente, *in hypothesis* a Xenagora, i quali avrebbero attribuito l'invenzione delle donne-eunuco a Gige anzicchè ad Adramytes.³

Questa nota erudita, che in qualche modo fissava lo *status quaestionis*, parve interessante al Müller, che la riprodusse senza alcun commento nella sua edizione dei frammenti degli storici greci.⁴ Ciò che accomunava gli autori fin qui menzionati, al dilà delle diverse soluzioni proposte, era la convinzione, allora assai diffusa, che all'opera di Esichio

³ “Quam rem [la difformità fra la Suda e Ateneo] sic expediri posse arbitrantur Vossius de Hist. Gr. 1.1 et Sevin. in comment. saepius laud. pag. 65, ut Xanthus dicatur junxisse varias de una eademque re sententias quas veterum fama traditas acceperit. Meursius contra in notis ad Hesych. Miles. pag. 176 in alterutro mendum inesse suspicatur ... Qua de re difficultatibus impedita, ut meum ipse iudicium interponam, possis etiam ita coniicere, ut non tam regis quam auctoris nomen in Hesychio, ejusque compilatore Suida corruptum dicas. Jam si τῶν Λυδιακῶν scriptores circumspecias, succurrit Xenophili Nomen, cuius Λυδιακᾶς ἱστορίας laudat Anonymus in tractatu de mulieribus, quae bello claruerunt ...: ut igitur ille fortasse Gygem prodiderit ejus nequitiae inventorem. Possis etiam de Xenagora cogitare, a quo, praeter cetera, Lydias etiam res traditas esse verisimile est”: Creuzer (1806) 197.

⁴ Cfr. Müller, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, I, (1841) 40. Va inoltre segnalato che la prima citazione di Xanto, quella relativa a Gige, figura anche nei frammenti storici esichiani raccolti dal Müller, op. cit., IV (1851) 171: secondo Fozio, cod. 69 e la voce Ἡσύχιος Μιλήσιος della Suda, infatti, Esichio fu autore anche di una perduta Χρονικὴ ἱστορία; in Jacoby (*FGrHist* 390) essa è semplicemente ignorata.

di Mileto risalissero non solo le notizie bio-bibliografiche relative a Xanto,⁵ ma addirittura entrambe le citazioni della Suda.⁶

Più di recente Francesca Gazzano ha sostenuto l'idea che solo la prima citazione risalga "alla redazione esichiana del bios", anche se deve riconoscere, contraddicendosi non poco, che la cosa "non trova esatti paralleli" nelle altre voci relative agli storici, e che "la ragione dell'inclusione della notizia nel lemma" appare "difficilmente intuibile".⁷

In realtà, già nell'edizione ottocentesca dell' Ὀνοματολόγος esichiano curata da Ioannes Flach tali citazioni figurano tra parentesi quadre perché "*Hesychii Milesii non esse vel manifestum vel admodum probabile est*".⁸ Non solo. Nell'edizione della Suda di Ada Adler (*Suidae Lexicon*, III, 491) le due citazioni in oggetto sono, anche da un punto di vista tipografico, separate dal lemma bio-bibliografico vero e proprio da un notevole spazio bianco; e questo "*spatium interpositum*", secondo i criteri editoriali adottati dalla studiosa, starebbe ad indicare "*novi fontis initium*".⁹

Dunque, se escludiamo che il lessicografo abbia utilizzato l'opera di Xanto in maniera diretta e nemmeno nella forma a lui più consueta di *excerptum* (indizi in questo senso non ve ne sono), a chi dobbiamo far

⁵ Che le notizie biografiche della Suda provengano dall' Ὀνοματολόγος di Esichio è l'opinione corrente, basata su di una dichiarazione, peraltro molto discussa, del lessicografo, contenuta s.v. Ἡσύχιος Μιλήσιος (η 611 Adler), secondo cui il Lessico costituirebbe un compendio dell' Onomatologos (ἔγραψεν Ὀνοματολόγον ἢ Πίνακα τῶν ἐν παιδείᾳ ὀνομαστῶν, οὗ ἐπιτομή ἐστὶ τοῦτο τὸ βιβλίον). Sull'argomento, che esula dal presente lavoro, vanno comunque tenute presenti le osservazioni di Schepens (2010) 30-34 e l'intero articolo di Costa (2010). Per quanto riguarda la più recente bibliografia su Esichio rinvio allo studio di Kaldellis (2005).

⁶ "*Haec αὐτολεξεῖ leguntur apud Hesychium Milesium, unde ea Suidas mutuatus est*": così Kuster(us), citato da Bernhardt, *Suidae Lexicon*, II.1, 1027-1028.

⁷ Cfr. Gazzano, (2010) 121-122; opinione ribadita in Gazzano (2011) 51. Analoghe perplessità erano state espresse già da Maurizio Giangliulo; tuttavia, se non m'inganno, esse riguardavano non la prima ma la seconda citazione, quella su Alcimo, cfr. Giangliulo (1999) 95 nota 26. Che l'inserimento della notizia su Gige subito dopo il lemma bio-bibliografico sia dovuto al suo carattere eurematico, è ipotesi plausibile, che appare assai più verisimile se riferita ai redattori o al redattore del Lessico: si veda al riguardo l'indice IV (*Inventiones*) di Adler, *Suidae Lexicon*, vol. 5, 177-179.

⁸ Cfr. Flach (1882), p. IV della *Praefatio*. Dello stesso vd. anche l'articolo citato *infra*, nota 17.

⁹ Cfr. Adler, *Suidae Lexicon*, I, pagina XVII dei *Prolegomena*. Le due indicazioni supplementari (Hes. e E?), poste dalla Adler a margine rispettivamente del lemma bio-bibliografico *stricto sensu* (quello che finisce con le parole βιβλία δ') e della seconda citazione di Xanto (quella che s'inizia con οὗτος ἵστορεῖ), potrebbero aver indotto la Gazzano (2010) a ritenere che anche la Adler considerasse esichiana la prima citazione, che però, come ho già ricordato sopra, è chiaramente separata dai dati bio-bibliografici da un notevole spazio bianco.

risalire le differenze sopra ricordate? Allo stesso lessicografo, che avrebbe “rimaneggiato” personalmente il testo di Ateneo a sua disposizione?¹⁰ Oppure ad un'altra fonte a lui nota (direttamente o indirettamente non importa) e da lui più o meno fedelmente trascritta? In tal caso di quale fonte si trattava?

Queste domande sono quanto mai legittime, soprattutto se si tengono presenti due fatti nuovi, mai segnalati prima d'ora, e cioè:

(a) che la prima citazione della Suda compare, quasi negli stessi termini, anche nello schizzo di storia lidia del *Breviarium Chronicum* di Costantino Manasse, una storia universale in versi ‘politici’ del XII secolo:

οὗτος ὁ Γύγης, ὥς φασιν, εὐνούχισε γυναικας,
ὥς νεαζούσαις ἔσαει χρῶτο περὶ τὴν μῆξιν;¹¹

(b) che anche l'altra citazione (quella che va da Ἀλκιμος fino a διηγῶν) — corrispondente all'attuale F19 Jacoby di Xanto, su cui tornerò più avanti — viene ripresa e parafrasata in un passo del Βασιλικὸς Ἀνδριάς (*Regia statua*) di Niceforo Blemmydes (XIII sec.):

τοῦ δ'αὐτοῦ τρόπου καὶ Ἀλκιμος ἦν ὁ Λυδός· ὅθεν ἐν γαλήνῃ καὶ ἀφθονία τὸ ὑπήκοον βιοῦν παρεσκεύασεν. ἐπτα δὲ διεληλυθότων ἐτῶν ἐθεοκλύτουν οἱ λαοί, ‘παγγενῇ’ συνιόντες καὶ ‘πανδημεί’ τὸν βίοντον ἐπεκτείνεσθαι τῷ σφῶν αὐτῶν βασιλεῖ· καὶ ἦν τοῦτο, καὶ πολυετὴς ὁ Ἀλκιμος γεγωνὸς εὐερμίαν μὲν τῷ τότε Λυδοῖς, ἑαυτῷ δ'ὄνομα καὶ ἕως δεῦρο πολὺ καὶ κλεινὸν καταλέλοιπεν.¹²

Orbene, per quanto riguarda il primo frammento e l'eventuale rimaneggiamento di Ateneo da parte dei compilatori della Suda, c'è un altro caso molto interessante di scambio di nomi. Sotto la voce Ἀφύα ἐς πῦρ (α 4660 Adler, vol. I, p. 435, ll. 24-26) viene citato anonimamente il seguente frammento proveniente da Ateneo:

¹⁰ Su Ateneo fonte della Suda vd. Adler (1932) 708-709.

¹¹ Lo schizzo figura ai vv. 810-847; quelli citati sono i vv. 838-839 dell'ed. curata da Lampsidis (1996). Questi versi, finora mai presi in considerazione, dovrebbero figurare prima del F4c Jacoby di Xanto. Per quanto riguarda le fonti di Manasse, tanto Krumbacher (1958²) 376, che Hunger (1978) 419, citano solo Dionigi di Alicarnasso, Giovanni Lido e Giovanni Antiocheno, ma non la Suda. Su Manasse vd., da ultimo, il saggio dello stesso Lampsidis (1988).

¹² Cap. 58. In questa sorta di *Speculum principis*, scritto per l'imperatore Teodoro II Laskaris, su cui vd. Emminger (1906), Alcimo figura subito dopo il siracusano Ierone come *exemplum* di un re molto amato (ἐράσμιος) dai sudditi, in quanto σωφρονικώτατος, εὐεργετικώτατος, ἐπι μᾶλλον δὲ ἡμερώτατος. Anche questo brano, a mia conoscenza, non era mai stato preso finora in considerazione e dovrebbe figurare come F19b di Xanto, mentre l'attuale F19 diventerebbe F19a.

ὅτι Νικομήδει τῷ Βιθυνῶν βασιλεῖ ἀφύης ἐπιθυμήσαντι καὶ μακρὰν ὄντι τῆς θαλάσσης, Ἀπίκιος ὁ ὀψοφάγος μιμησάμενος τὸ ἰχθύδιον παρέθηκεν ὡς ἀφύας.

Se però esaminiamo il passo corrispondente di Ateneo, ci accorgiamo che il protagonista non ha un nome: il lessicografo ha in realtà erroneamente attribuito all'anonimo μάγειρος dell'episodio relativo a Nicomede di Bitinia il nome di Apicio, che nella sua fonte è invece messo in relazione con l'imperatore Traiano, coprotagonista dell'aneddoto riferito subito prima. Ecco il passo Ateneo 1.7d:

Τραιανῷ δὲ τῷ αὐτοκράτορι ἐν Παρθίᾳ ὄντι καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης ἀπέχοντι ἡμερῶν παμπόλλων ὁδόν, Ἀπίκιος ὄστρεα νεαρὰ διεπέμψατο ὑπὸ σοφίας αὐτοῦ τεθησαυρισμένα: καὶ οὐχ ὥς Νικομήδει τῷ Βιθυνῶν βασιλεῖ ἐπιθυμήσαντι ἀφύης μακρὰν δὲ καὶ οὗτος ἦν τῆς θαλάσσης μάγειρός τις μιμησάμενος τὸ ἰχθύδιον παρέθηκεν ὡς ἀφύας.¹³

Anche nel nostro caso, il diverso nome dei protagonisti potrebbe far pensare che sia stato il lessicografo a sostituire quello meno noto (Adramytes) con uno più noto (Gige). Tuttavia la diversa motivazione della pratica di “eunuchizzare” le donne, fornita dai due autori, mi sembra provare senz'ombra di dubbio che il lessicografo non attingeva direttamente ad Ateneo, ovvero alla sua epitome,¹⁴ ma molto probabilmente ad un altro autore.¹⁵ Non solo. In questa prospettiva non si può escludere che i nomi dei due re lidi figurassero insieme già nell'opera di Xanto, perché entrambi in qualche modo connessi alla medesima pratica.¹⁶ Ma lasciamo da parte le ipotesi e atteniamoci ai dati di fatto.

¹³ La cosa era stata notata già dal Kuster(us), citato da Bernhardt, *Suidae Lexicon*, I.1, 909-910: “Male hic Suidas ea Apicio tribuit, quae Athenaeus loco laudato de coquo quodam narrat”.

¹⁴ Già A. von Gutschmid (1893) 311 osservava, nel saggio su Xanto, che dal punto di vista del contenuto la citazione di Ateneo è “unvereinbar” con quella della Suda.

¹⁵ Non bisogna dimenticare che l'opera di Xanto fu presto epitomata (cfr. Diogene Laerzio 6.101: γεγόνασι δὲ Μένιπποι ἕξ: πρῶτος ὁ γράψας τὰ περὶ Λυδῶν καὶ Ξάνθου ἐπιτεμόμενος) e comunque utilizzata da storici posteriori: ad esempio, un altro frammento di Xanto, conservato da Ateneo, non deriva direttamente da Xanto, ma da Mnasea: cfr. Ateneo 8.346e: καὶ μικρὸν προελθὼν πάλιν φησὶν [scil. Mnasea]: “ἡ δὲ γε Ἀταργάτις, ὥσπερ Ξάνθος λέγει ὁ Λυδός, ὑπὸ Μόξου τοῦ Λυδοῦ ἄλοῦσα κατεποντίσθη...”; vd. anche la nota *ad loc.* di Müller, *op. cit.*, III (1849) 155 e il commento di Cappelletto (2003) 246-253. Quanto a Nicolao di Damasco, vd. oltre.

¹⁶ Come avevano già suggerito molto acutamente, anche se con scarso successo, il Vossius e l'abate Sevin, citati *supra* alla nota 5. Non so quanto fondata, ma certo suggestiva, l'identificazione di Adramytes con Alyattes proposta da Alexander (1913) 24 nota 22 e 42-43.

Se ammettiamo che il lessicografo attingeva ad una fonte diversa da Ateneo, i nomi degli autori a sua disposizione, che potrebbero aver tramandato sia la prima che la seconda notizia, non sono molti: a parte Eliano, il cui nome era stato già fatto in passato a proposito del secondo frammento,¹⁷ (Eliano aveva composto tra l'altro un'opera, oggi perduta ma ben documentata da numerosi frammenti conservati dalla Suda, dal titolo *Sulla provvidenza* ovvero *Sulle manifestazioni divine*,¹⁸ la quale presenta molti elementi di contatto con Ateneo),¹⁹ almeno Nicolao di Damasco: un autore che doveva essere ben presente **anche** nelle sezioni degli *Excerpta* costantiniani purtroppo non pervenutici,²⁰ se non altro per i suoi documentati interessi per la storia assiro-persiana e lidia.²¹

Prima di procedere oltre, esaminiamo la seconda citazione. Già solo ad una sommaria traduzione essa presenta qualche problema, non solamente di carattere testuale. Cosa vuol dire esattamente l'espressione ἐπειδὴ ἑπτὰ ἔτη ἦν τῷ Ἀλκίμῳ? E ancora: dove si recarono in massa i Lidi (προελθόντας [v.l. προσελθόντας] ... παγγενῇ τε καὶ πανδημεῖ) e a qual(e/i) divinità rivolsero la loro supplica (προσεύξασθαι)? E infine: che cosa veramente chiesero? Che Alcimo continuasse a regnare così come aveva fatto fino a quel momento o che lo facesse ancora per molto tempo, considerato che l'aveva fatto bene procurando ai sudditi pace e prosperità?

Premesso che alcuni di questi interrogativi (per es. quelli relativi al luogo della supplica e alla/e divinità destinatrice/i), allo stato delle nostre conoscenze, sono destinati a restare senza risposta, per quel che riguarda il testo possiamo tuttavia proporre qualche utile correzione.

¹⁷ Secondo la Adler (*Suidae Lexicon*, III, s.v. Ξάνθος in apparato) la paternità di questo frammento era stata dal Gutschmid attribuita, non mi è chiaro su che base, ad Eliano. La nota della Adler è purtroppo estremamente sintetica e non dice dove il Gutschmid avrebbe espresso il suo giudizio. Per quanto abbia cercato, non ho trovato alcun riferimento nè nelle *Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der griechischen Historiographie*, né in altri lavori pubblicati in Gutschmid (1893). A Nicolao di Damasco l'aveva invece attribuita Flach (1880) 192.

¹⁸ Che i due titoli debbano essere riferiti alla stessa opera fu sostenuto da Schöner (1873), e questa è l'opinione prevalente: cfr. Kindstrand (1998).

¹⁹ Sui complessi legami, non necessariamente diretti, tra i frammenti di Eliano conservati nella Suda e Ateneo, vd. infra la nota 32. Su quelli fra una delle opere superstiti di Eliano e Ateneo vd. da ultimo Stamm (2003) 46-58: non mi pare tuttavia che l'autrice assuma una chiara posizione riguardo al problema della "gemeinsame Quelle".

²⁰ Vd. Flusin (2002).

²¹ Cfr. Jacoby, *FGHist* 90, FF15-18; 22; 44-47; 62-65; e forse 68 e 71.

Soffermiamoci prima di tutto sull'espressione ἐπειδὴ ἑπτὰ ἔτη ἦν τῷ Ἀλκίμῳ. Ludolph Kuster(us) la traduceva così: “*cum Alcymus septem annos regnasset*”,²² e credo che quello ne sia il senso; ma proprio per questo la frase, così com'è, risulta incompleta per la mancanza di qualsiasi riferimento al “regnare”. Probabilmente il lessicografo ha ommesso o di proposito tagliato qualcosa, per es. un participio (βασιλεύοντι o altra forma equivalente) dopo Ἀλκίμῳ; a suggerircelo è un'espressione molto simile di Nicolao di Damasco, F4, 338 linea 18 Jacoby: ὥς δ'ἑπτὰ ἔτη ἐγένετο αὐτῷ τοιαύτην διαίταν ἔχοντι ἐν Βαβυλῶνι. In tal caso la correzione del numerale (ζ' = “sette” in ξ' = “sessanta”), suggerita dal Wachsmuth,²³ probabilmente nella convinzione che essa contenesse un riferimento all'età anagrafica di Alcimo, non pare necessaria, anche alla luce della corrispondente espressione di Blemmydes (ἑπτὰ δὲ διεληλυθότων ἐτῶν); oltretutto si tratterebbe di una formula affatto inconsueta, nel panorama della letteratura greca, per indicare l'età di qualcuno.

Quanto all'altra espressione, τῷ Ἀλκίμῳ τοιαῦτα ἔτη δοθῆναι,²⁴ se i Lidi erano interessati non solo alla qualità (bontà) della basileia di Alcimo,²⁵ ma anche alla sua durata, l'aggettivo τοιούτος non pare il più adatto allo scopo: proprio perché i destinatari del beneficio richiesto nella supplica erano di fatto loro e non Alcimo, a quest'ultimo dovevano essere augurati ancora non “siffatti” o “altrettali”, ma se mai (ancora) “tanti” nel senso di innumerevoli anni di regno e/o di vita, nell'interesse

²² Bernhardt, *Suidae Lexicon*, II.1, 1027-1028.

²³ Cfr. Wachsmuth (1895) 465 nota 1. Jacoby si limita a segnalarla in apparato.

²⁴ Per un'espressione simile alla nostra vd. Nicolao di Damasco, F66, 192 Jacoby: Μετὰ ταῦτα παρὰ βασιλέα Κῦρον ἀφικόμενον ὁ Οἰβάρας ἀνεδίδασκε καὶ ἐξώτρυνε τὰ βεβουλευμένα σφίσι δρᾶν καὶ πέμπειν τε εἰς Πέρσας καὶ ὀπλίζειν τοὺς ἐν ἡβῇ καὶ Ἀστυάγην αἰτεῖσθαι δοῦναι οἱ ἡμέρας ὥς τε τὰ ἱερὰ θύσειε καὶ τὸν πατέρα νοσηλεύσειε φαύλως ἔχοντα; qui l'espressione δοῦναι οἱ ἡμέρας — nella quale sarà caduto probabilmente un numerale — è seguita dalla proposizione finale con l'indicazione dello scopo della richiesta (compiere i sacrifici e curare il padre malato). Cfr. anche la versione greca dei LXX di Giobbe, 15.20: πᾶς ὁ βίος ἀσεβοῦς ἐν φροντίδι, ἔτη δὲ ἀριθμητὰ δεδομένα δυνάστη.

²⁵ A proposito del nome di questo mitico re lidio, Jacoby in apparato richiama dubitativamente quelli di Ἀκίαιος e Ἀκίμιος, presenti rispettivamente nel F8 Jacoby di Xanto, tramandato da Stefano di Bisanzio s.v. Ἀσκάλων, e nel F44 Jacoby §10 di Nicolao di Damasco, proveniente da *Excerpta de insidiis*, 10, 32. Contro l'identificazione si era espresso Creuzer (1806) 219: “*Neque vero est cur hunc Aciamum pro eodem habeamus cum Alcimo de quo supra ex Suida. Quisquis ille fuerit (nam consultius est in talibus ignorantiam fateri) referendus certe videtur in antiquissimos ex Atyadarum gente Lydiae reges*”. L'argomento meriterebbe comunque un approfondimento.

dei Lidi (ἐς τὸ Λυδῶν ἀγαθόν, appunto).²⁶ Un passo avanti in questa direzione mi sembra la correzione (τοσαῦτα in luogo di τοιαῦτα) proposta da Wachsmuth²⁷ e accolta nel testo da Jacoby: purchè si intenda qui l'aggettivo non nel senso di "altrettanti" (cioè "altri sette", ἄλλα τοσαῦτα), ma in quello più generico e indefinito di "tantissimi" o, come traduceva Kuster(us), "*plures*".²⁸

Ed ora torniamo agli interrogativi posti all'inizio circa l'origine, per così dire non remota, di questi due frammenti, che possiamo ora tranquillamente definire "cover texts".²⁹ Devono essere attribuiti ad un unico autore o a due autori diversi? I nomi su cui concentrare la nostra attenzione sono, come già detto, Nicolao di Damasco ed Eliano.

Da una indagine di tipo lessicale, condotta con l'ausilio del *TLG*, sono emersi i seguenti dati.

Il verbo ἰστορέω è presente anche in Eliano, *N.A.* 4.27 e 9.27.

Il verbo εὐνουχίζω, che ricorre anche in un frammento di Clearco (F 49 Wehrli²) citato da Ateneo 12.514d-e in relazione alla τρυφή dei Medi,³⁰ è attestato poi in Filone, nel Nuovo Testamento, in autori come Plutarco, Appiano, Galeno, Luciano e nella letteratura cristiana.

Il verbo νεάζω, impiegato dai tragici e dai comici, è attestato anche nel frammento 110 Hercher = 113 Domingo-Forasté di Eliano, corrispondente a Suda α 3213 Adler, s.v. Ἀπίκιος Μάρκος.

Soltanto Eliano presenta insieme i due avverbi παγγενῆ e πανδημεῖ: cfr. *N.A.* 17.27.6 (πανδημεῖ τε καὶ παγγενεῖ διαφθαρέντες). πανδη-

²⁶ "*Ut plures anni Alcimo darentur*": così Kuster(us), citato da Bernhardt, *Suidae Lexicon*, II.1, 1027-1028. Poco perspicua mi sembra la chiosa di quest'ultimo: "*non sufficit vocabulum [τοιαῦτα], nisi numeri quaequam accedat significatio*". Illuminante infine la corrispondente parafrasi di Blemmydes: τὸν βίον ἐπεκτείνεσθαι τῷ σφῶν αὐτῶν βασιλεῖ.

²⁷ Wachsmuth (1895) 465 nota 1. La Adler attribuisce la correzione a Anders Björn Drachmann.

²⁸ Sulla facilità di scambiare i due aggettivi, segnalo per parte mia un interessante passo di Galeno (*In Hippocratis librum de officina medici commentarii tres*) in cui si propone una correzione inversa: "ἄμεινον δὲ ἐστὶν ἴσως ἀντὶ τοῦ τοσαῦτα τοιαῦτα τὸ τρίτον γράμμα ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς σ ποιήσαντας ἢ τῇ γὰρ ποιότητι μᾶλλον αἱ περιβολαὶ τοῦ παρέρματος ἴσχωσι τὸ σύμμετρον τῆς ἐπιδέσεως, οὐ τῇ ποσότητι", C.G. Kühn, *Claudii Galeni opera omnia*, vol. 18.2, Leipzig 1830, 813, linea 13. Da una ricerca sul *TLG* è risultato inoltre che a fronte dell'usatissima espressione τοσαῦτα ἔτη, l'altra (τοιαῦτα ἔτη) è attestata solo 3 volte, e in tutti e tre i casi l'aggettivo è preceduto dall'articolo (τὰ τοιαῦτα ἔτη).

²⁹ Sull'impiego di questo nuovo concetto nella definizione dei frammenti vd. Schepens (1997) 166-167, nota 66.

³⁰ Questo frammento figura poco prima di quello di Xanto, che, a sua volta, è seguito da un altro di Clearco sempre sulla τρυφή dei Lidi (F 43 a Wehrli²).

μεί da solo anche in *V.H.* 4.5 e 13.27. L'altro avverbio (παγγενῆ) da solo è di uso tardo: prime attestazioni nel grammatico Erodiano e in Polluce, che presenta anche la forma παγγενεῖ; poi spesso in autori cristiani e in una notizia anonima della Suda s.v. Κρίσαμις (κ 2441 Adler), corrispondente ad Esichio κ 4146 (qui nella variante παγγενεῖ) e a Fozio, *Lexicon* 179 (variante del nome con due sigma Κρίσσαμις).

Il termine εὐποτμία è usato da Eliano (*N.A.* 11.40.10).

L'espressione εἰρήνην βαθεῖαν è attestata in Eliano, *V.H.* 3.18.6, che cita Teopompo (*FGrHist* 115, F75c Jacoby).

Il verbo διῆγεν in Eliano, *V.H.* 5.1 (Ταχὼς ὁ Αἰγύπτιος ἕως μὲν ἐχρήτο τῇ ἐπιχωρίῳ διαίτῃ καὶ εὐτελῶς διεβίω, ὑγιεινότετα ἀνθρώπων διῆγεν).

La iunctura τῆς ἐκεῖσε χώρας in questa forma sembra tarda. Vd. però Eliano, *N.A.* 2.8.2 (Λόγοι φασὶν Εὐβοέων δεῦρο φοιτῶντες, τοὺς ἀλιέας τοὺς ἐκεῖσε τοῖς δελφῖσι τοῖς ἐκεῖθι ἰσομοιρίαν τῆς θήρας ἀπονέμειν) e 14.29.2 (ἴδια μὲν δὴ καὶ ταῦτα ἰχθύων τῶν ἐκεῖσε καὶ θήραις ἐτέραις οὐκ ἄν εἰκασμένα).

L'avverbio ἀνεπιβουλεύτως è raro, ma l'aggettivo corrispondente ἀνεπιβούλευτος è molto usato da Eliano.³¹

In conclusione, sulla base degli indizi raccolti, l'attribuzione ad Eliano delle notizie relative ai due re della Lidia conservate dalla Suda (notizie tanto singolari quanto in sé circoscritte), mi pare che rappresenti qualcosa di più di una "educated guess",³² soprattutto se la fonte di Manasse e di Blemmydes non è, come sembra, la Suda.³³

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³¹ In coppia con l'altro aggettivo (ἀδεής) compare solo in Tucide 3.37.2: διὰ γὰρ τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν ἀδεὲς καὶ ἀνεπιβούλευτον.

³² Per quanto riguarda i rapporti della Suda con Ateneo ed Eliano, va ricordato che una citazione anonima della Suda (κ 968 A.), corrispondente ad un passo di Ateneo (12, 524, da Eraclide Pontico), era stata riconosciuta e attribuita ad Eliano dal benemerito Eduard Rasmus; omessa per una distrazione da Hercher nell'edizione teubneriana del 1866 (cfr. la breve nota uscita quello stesso anno: Hercher (1866) 448), non è stata più collocata da allora tra i frammenti, riuniti sotto il nr. 135, relativi alla medesima vicenda. Per un altro frammento anonimo della Suda (σ 1472 A.), corrispondente anch'esso ad un passo di Ateneo (8.361a, da Ergia di Rodi = 513 F1 Jacoby) e assegnato ad Eliano, mi sia permesso di rinviare ad un mio recente lavoro: Favuzzi (2009-2010) 51-52.

³³ Per una reminiscenza elianea nella Cronaca di Manasse, vd. Lampsidis (1965) 192.

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COLLECTING FRAGMENTS IN THE 21ST CENTURY: A LECTIO SERIES OF ROUND TABLE DISCUSSIONS

Since 2011, the “Leuven Centre for the Study of the Transmission of Texts and Ideas in Antiquity, the Middle Ages and the Renaissance (LECTIO)” has been organizing, within the framework of its “Laboratory for Critical Text Editing”, a series of round table discussions concerning the critical editing of texts. So far topics such as the following have been addressed: “Digital or Critical / Digital and Critical”, “Collections at the Crossroads of Book History and Textual Criticism”, “Collecting Fragments in the 21st Century. Part 1”, and “Scholars of the Past – Editions of Today” (see <http://ghum.kuleuven.be/lectio>). Whereas the focus of the round tables is clearly on editions of preserved texts, there is also a special interest in fragmentary works from Greek and Roman antiquity of which we have knowledge only through references in later texts. These works, especially the possibility of and the limitation inherent in their reconstruction, have been the object of intense study during the past two decades. With their contributions to “Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker Continued. Part IV: Biography and Antiquarian Literature”, scholars of the KU Leuven have already raised awareness concerning different ways to deal with these indirectly transmitted texts. The series of round tables within the “Laboratory” on “Collecting Fragments in the 21st Century” will, so we hope, also contribute to a better understanding of these texts and improve the way in which they should be collected and edited.

Among the topics which have been and will be addressed are the following (I am drawing on my description of the series on the website): What is a fragment? To what extent are we able to establish its authenticity? To what extent is a reconstruction of a lost work possible? What role can ‘Quellenforschung’ play today? How should a collection of fragments be organized? Are there fundamental differences between fragments of works that belong to different genres (historiography, oratory, philosophy, etc.), and if there are, how will that be reflected in the various collections of fragments? What is to be expected of a commentary?

The papers published here were presented at the first round table discussion on this topic on 14 May 2012.

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COLLECTING QUOTATIONS BY TOPIC:
DEGREES OF PRESERVATION AND TRANSTEXTUAL
RELATIONS AMONG GENRES*

Abstract: This paper aims at exploring many issues concerning the difficult task of collecting quotations and text re-uses of lost historians. The subject is addressed not by author or by work, but focusing on a topic and discussing sources that belong to different genres and are characterized by different degrees of preservation. The test-case is constituted by the sources on the revolt of Samos (440-439 BC).

The aim of this paper is to address some questions concerning the difficult task of collecting fragments — i.e. quotations and textual re-uses — of lost texts of Classical prose writers. With this goal in mind, I am not going to talk about a fragmentary author or about a modern edition of fragments, but I will present my reflections focusing on a topic and gathering ancient sources about it. The rationale for this choice is to collect evidence that belongs to different genres and is characterized by different degrees of preservation. The ultimate purpose is to explore connections among sources and point to a *relation type perspective*, which is one of the most challenging issues when dealing with quotations¹.

This comparative analysis is the first step in examining three basic aspects of fragments of ancient works, combining both an endotextual and an exotextual approach: (1) the contribution of fragments to our knowledge of a certain topic, (2) the reasons for quoting them, and (3) their role inside the context of transmission². This means investigating their level of distance from the original text, which is lost, and the intention of the author who has selected, excerpted, and quoted a portion of the original text in a new (con)text. At the same time, gathering ancient sources by topic enables us to put together fragments that modern editors have been forced, for more or less compelling reasons, to collect and classify into distinct categories, although the differences among their supposed genres are often not so evident and therefore definable.

* I express my warmest thanks to Guido Schepens and Stefan Schorn for giving me the opportunity to discuss with them the contents of this paper and for their precious suggestions. I am also very grateful to Thomas R. Martin and D. Neel Smith for a preliminary discussion about the role of new editors of fragments of ancient literature.

¹ See Berti (2012a) and (2012b).

² On the concept of 'cover-text' of historical fragments, see Schepens (1997a) 166-168.

This kind of research provides also the opportunity to explore some aspects of the fate of Classical sources through the centuries, which is due not only to the fortunes and misfortunes of their preservation, but also to changes in the formation and dissemination of the canon at different times³.

With this research I hope to make a small contribution to the stimulating questions about the meaning of ‘fragment’, which is a very misleading and confusing term, and to recall issues and tasks for future editors of collections of fragmentary authors⁴. I agree that we can be less optimistic than earlier generations on the possibilities of reconstructing and supplementing lost works, but I also think that we have many reasons for being optimistic, because we are now able to go beyond those unsurpassed results and pose new questions, in order to represent our sources with a special focus on their ‘multi-textual’ features and the indefiniteness of their textual boundaries⁵.

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The test-case of my research are the sources on the revolt of Samos, which broke out in 440 BC when a group of Samian oligarchs rebelled against the democratic government imposed by Athens on the island. After nine months of siege, the Athenians succeeded in crushing the revolt and the Samians were forced to surrender on very harsh terms by razing their walls, giving hostages, delivering up their ships, and arranging to pay the expenses of the war by installments⁶.

³ For all these topics about fragmentary texts of lost authors, see the papers collected in Most (1997). Cf. also Brunt (1980); Schepens (1998); Schepens (2000); Lenfant (2007); Ambaglio (2009); Schepens & Schorn (2010); Vanotti (2010).

⁴ It is very difficult to find a proper term for defining such a complex phenomenon. Anyway, given that ‘fragment’ recalls something material and implies the preservation of an original text that is in fact lost, I prefer to use the expression ‘text re-use’. On this terminological aspect see Berti (2012a) 444-446.

⁵ The concept of multitext is the result of work conducted by the *Homer Multitext Project* of the Center for Hellenic Studies, which aims at producing a new digital representation of the textual tradition of the Homeric poems. According to the editors of the *Homer Multitext Project*, collecting multiple critical editions of the same text means building a multitext, which is a “network of versions with a single, reconstructed root”, so that scholars can compare different textual choices and conjectures produced by philologists. For a definition of multi-text in Classical sources see Dué & Ebbott (2009) and Smith (2010). On the application of ‘multi-text’ to fragments of lost work, see Berti (2012b). On the problem of defining the beginning and the end of a fragment in an edition see Lens (1992).

⁶ This research is part of a project funded by the Department of Classics at the College of the Holy Cross: see demo.fragmentarytexts.org. For a preliminary report see Berti (2012a).

The main sources on the revolt are Thucydides (1.115.2-117), Diodorus Siculus (12.27-28), and Plutarch, *Life of Pericles* (25-28). These extensive accounts are accompanied by other sources on different aspects of the revolt⁷: two Athenian inscriptions on the expenses of the Samian war and the text of the treaty between Athens and Samos, which includes the names of the generals of 439/38⁸; a passage from Athenaeus, who quotes Ion of Chios about an episode that involved Sophocles, who was appointed general for the war⁹; an entry from the lexicon of Harpocration with information on the responsibility of Aspasia for the outbreak of the war¹⁰; and finally, an excerpt from Photios' lexicon about the tattoos inflicted on both the Athenian and Samian prisoners¹¹.

Seven fragmentary authors reported information connected to the revolt of Samos: Ion of Chios, Stesimbrotos of Thasos, Androtion, Ephoros, Douris of Samos, Lysimachos of Alexandria, and Alexis of Samos. These authors have been collected by Felix Jacoby in his massive edition of Greek fragmentary historians and are currently being re-edited as part of the *Brill's New Jacoby* project. As a matter of fact, these 'historians' are very versatile writers whose works don't strictly pertain only to the domain of historiography, but cover many other genres such as poetry, literature, aesthetics, literary criticism, biography, mythography, grammar, and antiquarian literature, demonstrating therefore a first aspect of intertextuality at the level of relations among textual categories. Felix Jacoby himself was compelled to distribute and repeat the fragments of these authors in various parts of his huge collection

⁷ For a complete list of sources on the revolt of Samos see Hill (1897) 137-146; Hill (1951) 346.

⁸ The text with the expenses of the war is *IG* I³ 363 = M-L 55 (441/40 and 440/39 BC). The sums given in this text can be compared with those given by Isocrates (*Antid.* (15) 111), Diodorus Siculus (12.28.3), and Cornelius Nepos (*Timoth.* 1.4-11). The text of the treaty between Athens and Samos is *IG* I³ 48 = M-L 56 (439/38 BC). As far as concerns the names of the generals, we have another evidence preserved by a scholion to Aelius Aristides (46.485, 135.18 Dindorf), who quotes a passage of the Atthidographer Androtion (*FGrHist* 324 F38) with a list of the Athenian generals at Samos. For Androtion's list see Lenz (1941); Harding (1994) 143-148; Develin (1989) 89 (441/40 BC).

⁹ Athen., *Deipn.* 13.81 (603e) = Ion, *FGrHist* 392 T5b and F6 (= *BNJ* 392 T5b and F6).

¹⁰ Harpocr., *Lex.* s.v. Ἀσπασία (Dour. Sam., *FGrHist* 76 F65 = *BNJ* 76 F65; Theophr., *Polit.* 4; Aristoph., *Acharn.* 527-528).

¹¹ Phot., *Lex.* s.vv. Σαμίων ὁ δῆμος (Lysim., *FGrHist* 382 F7 = *BNJ* 382 F7; Dour. Sam., *FGrHist* 76 F66 = *BNJ* 76 F66) and Τὰ Σαμίων ὑποπετεύεις.

under different subsections, including universal history, local history, ethnography, mythology, *etc.*¹²

The first source that I am going to analyze is Plutarch, who has included a long account of the revolt of Samos in his *Life of Pericles*, focusing on different aspects of the war and commenting other authors. It is possible to examine the text of the biographer pointing out six kinds of quotations that describe different types of textual re-uses by ancient writers¹³:

- gossip quotations
 - authoritative quotations
 - quotations as demonstrations
 - unnamed quotations vs. named quotations
 - memorable sayings and statements
 - quotations inside quotations
- *Gossip quotations.* Plutarch opens his report of the revolt of Samos with a quick reference to the alleged reason for the outbreak of the war. He doesn't mention his sources, but simply writes that Pericles was

¹² Ephoros (*FGrHist* 70) and Douris of Samos (*FGrHist* 76) are in the section *Universal- und Zeitgeschichte*, even if their fragments include also works pertaining to other genres. Moreover, they are also referred to in the section *Geschichte von Städten und Völkern (Horographie und Ethnographie)*, under Cyme and Samos respectively, for their works Ἐπιχώριος and Σαμίων ὄροι. The fragments of Stesimbrotos (*FGrHist* 107), which comprise also the Περί Ὀμήρου and Περί τελετῶν, are in the subsection *Über die Zeit bis auf Philippos und Alexandros* of the section *Spezialgeschichten und Monographien*. The fragments of the work *On Themistocles, Thucydides, and Pericles* and the Περί Ὀμήρου are now part of the section *Biography and Antiquarian Literature* of the continuation of Jacoby's collection (*FGrHistCont* 1002). In spite of their multiform and complex production, Androtion (*FGrHist* 324), Lysimachos of Alexandria (*FGrHist* 382), Ion of Chios (*FGrHist* 392), and Alexis of Samos (*FGrHist* 539) are in the big section *Geschichte von Städten und Völkern (Horographie und Ethnographie)*, under the respective places covered in their works: Athens, Boeotia, Chios, and Samos. Lysimachos is also referred to in the first *FGrHist* section called *Genealogie und Mythographie*, because of the Νόστοι (in the subsection *Monographien. Romane. Schwindelliteratur*). In the big section *Geschichte von Städten und Völkern (Horographie und Ethnographie)*, Androtion is in the subsection including the authors who wrote *Atthiden*. On reasons, problems, and prospects connected to the arrangement of Jacoby's collection, see Schepens (2006a), (2006b) 357-381, and (2010). On the debate about the structure of Jacoby's collection see Chávez Reino (2009).

¹³ The aim of the classifications proposed in this paper is not to neologize concepts and enrich the already long list of categories of citation types, but to simplify in this paper the presentation of complex phenomena connected to the study of quotations and textual re-uses of lost texts. I am also fully aware that many concepts could be expressed with different or similar words by other scholars. Cf. Trillini & Quassdorf (2010).

accused of getting the decree for the war approved at the request of Aspasia, who was acting on the behalf of the Milesians (*Per.* 25.1: τὸν δὲ πρὸς Σαμίους πόλεμον αἰτιῶνται μάλιστα τὸν Περικλέα ψηφίσασθαι διὰ Μιλησίους Ἀσπασίας δεηθείσης). This story was well-known gossip from fifth-century Athenian history, as is revealed by Harpocration's entry on Aspasia, where the lexicographer says that the woman was considered the cause (αἰτία) of two wars, the Samian and the Peloponnesian, according to Aristophanes, Theophrastos, and his pupil Douris of Samos¹⁴.

We are not surprised to find a reference to this story in Plutarch, but it is interesting to focus on its function in the text of the life of Pericles, given that it is reported twice, the first time just before the paragraphs presenting a short biography of Aspasia (*Per.* 24.1) and the second at the beginning of the account of the Samian war (*Per.* 25.1). Plutarch doesn't feel the need to name his sources and this allusion can be considered an example of *unnamed* (or *impersonal*) quotation (see below). The biographer reports the gossip without any comments, simply embedding it in two strategic positions in the text and therefore influencing readers' judgments and affecting the accounts of Aspasia's life and the Samian war.

In the work *On the Malice of Herodotus* (855f-856a), Plutarch reproaches authors who cast charges such as those against Aspasia and defines them as examples of hostile and ill-disposed writers (δυσμενεῖς καὶ κακοήθεις). It is possible that in the life of Pericles he didn't reply to this accusation just because he believed that it was not worth responding. Anyway, it is interesting to notice that in the two passages of Pericles' life he doesn't mention Douris of Samos, who was his main target of criticism about the Samian war (see below) and one of those accusing Aspasia of responsibility for the war¹⁵.

– *Authoritative quotations.* In his account of the Samian war Plutarch briefly mentions Thucydides twice. In the first case the Athenian historian is named with Ephoros and Aristotle in a long passage about the atrocities that, according to Douris of Samos, Pericles committed against

¹⁴ Harpocr., *Lex.* s.v. Ἀσπασία (= Dour. Sam., *FGrHist* 76 F65 = *BNJ* 76 F65; Theophr., *Pol.* 4; Aristoph., *Acharn.* 527-528). For a discussion of this evidence and other sources that could possibly refer to the same charge against Aspasia, see Henry (1995) 72 and Podlecki (1998) 126.

¹⁵ On Douris as a source of Plutarch's *Pericles* see Stadter (1989) lxxvi-lxxvii. On Plutarch's habits to remain rather silent or vague on his sources see Lenfant (2003).

the Samians¹⁶. The position of this quick reference is effective for determining the evaluation of the whole story. Plutarch writes that Douris gave a tragic version of the events (ἐπιτραγωδεῖ) accusing Pericles and the Athenians of great cruelty against the Samians and evidencing something that was recorded neither by Thucydides, nor Ephoros, nor Aristotle. Just after the mention of these three authors, Plutarch goes on quoting the brutalities described by Douris and comments on them as not true and being the result of someone who had a private and personal interest (ἴδιον πάθος) in giving a false account of the story¹⁷. The quotation of the three *authoritative* sources is fundamental in affecting the whole passage and strengthening the malevolence of Douris and the final judgment by Plutarch. The biographer doesn't add any words to the quotation, but simply inserts this reference as a sort of reminder to the reader and as an implied assertion of his thoughts about Douris.

A similar effect is perceivable in the second mention of Thucydides, even if with a different result. In this case Plutarch names the Athenian historian following a quotation from Ion of Chios, who wrote that Pericles had a great sense of pride for his subjugation of Samos and that he considered himself even better than Agamemnon, who conquered a barbarian city in ten years while he overcame the Samians, who were the most powerful people of Ionia, in just nine months¹⁸. Plutarch writes that this boast was not unjust because the Samian war brought with it much uncertainty and great peril, as testified by Thucydides, who said that Samos was about to strip from Athens her power on the sea (cf. Thuc. 8.76.4). This quotation ends the Plutarchean account of the revolt and it serves not only as a reply to the negative assessment of Pericles by Ion, but also as a sort of *authoritative* seal put by the biographer on the whole episode of the Samian war.

– *Quotations as demonstrations.* After describing the siege of Samos, Plutarch recounts a decision by Pericles who decided to sail off from the island for an expedition into the wider sea. According to the biographer

¹⁶ Plut., *Per.* 28.1-3 (= Dour. Sam., *FGrHist* 76 F67 = *BNJ* 76 F67; Ephor., *FGrHist* 70 F195; Aristot., fr. 578 Rose³). See Karavites (1985) 48-53.

¹⁷ Stadter (1989) lxxvi-lxxvii: "Plutarch's judgment on Duris' history is based on familiarity with his work, although he may not have read it for the *Pericles*: the three incidents he used from Duris (Aspasia's responsibility, the tattooing, and the executions) were all such as to be easily remembered or recorded in notes".

¹⁸ Plut., *Per.* 28.5-6 (= Ion Chius, *FGrHist* 392 F16 = *BNJ* 392 F16). Cf. also Plut., *De glor. Athen.* 350e.

this was a bad decision, because it allowed the Samians to attack the Athenians left on the island and win a victory under the command of Melissos (*Per.* 26.1-2). At this point Plutarch quotes Aristotle, who said that Pericles himself was defeated by the Samian general in a battle that preceded the attack upon the Athenians¹⁹. This kind of reference partially overlaps the type of *authoritative quotations* examined above, but in this case the authority of Aristotle is not used for contradicting other authors, but for *demonstrating* the mistake made by Pericles and therefore the correctness of Plutarch's judgment²⁰.

– *Unnamed quotations vs. named quotations*. One of the most problematic questions to be dealt with when working with fragments of lost works is the case in which ancient authors don't quote their sources, but generally refer to a widespread tradition or authority, or to a group of people/writers stating something. Ayelet Haimson-Lushkov has recently classified this example as a kind of *anonymous citation*, which can be expressed in *impersonal* and *pronominal* forms²¹. The *impersonal citation* “includes vague or generic references to a tradition, in whatever form” and in Greek sources it can be represented with verbs as δοκεῖ, φασί, λέγεται, λέγουσι, etc. “Such references can act as a marker of a particular tradition, existing in tension with the surrounding allusions, which expose the scholarly debate underlying the tradition [...]”. The *pronominal citation* “acknowledges a source, or a group of sources, but without, or instead of, assigning individual names”. In Greek texts it can be explicit with phrases such as οἱ πλεῖστοι, οἱ πλείους, οἱ ἄλλοι, etc., or by setting one group beside the other with οἱ μὲν and οἱ δέ²².

¹⁹ Plut., *Per.* 26.3 (= Aristot., fr. 577 Rose³).

²⁰ Probably Plutarch founded many “unusual details” on the Samian war in the Aristotelian *Constitution of the Samians*: see Stadter (1989) lxxiv.

²¹ See A.H. Lushkov, ‘Citation and the Dynamics of Tradition in Livy's *AUC*’. This paper was presented at a seminar organized by John Marincola at the American Philological Association meeting held in San Antonio in 2011 (*Allusion and Intertextuality in Classical Historiography*). I'm grateful to John Marincola for allowing me to participate in the seminar and putting at my disposal the papers of the contributors, which are now available on the website of the electronic journal *Histos*: <http://research.ncl.ac.uk/histos/> (working papers).

²² The broad category of *anonymous citations* includes a great variety of expressions that can be used in many different contexts and with many different purposes, as for example the reference to a widespread tradition that corroborates what the author is stating. At the same time, the classification proposed by Haimson-Lushkov underlines one of the most interesting roles played by this kind of citation in ancient texts.

The sources on the revolt of Samos preserve many instances of this kind of *unnamed quotation or impersonal citation*²³. Among these cases, we can recall the generic accusation of Aspasia's responsibility for the outbreak of the war, when Plutarch reports the tradition attributing it to unnamed sources (δοκεῖ and αἰτιῶνται in *Per.* 24.1 and 25.1). On the other hand, we can also mention the passage in which the biographer refuses the evidence of Stesimbrotos of Thasos about Pericles' strategy, by comparing it with the version of the majority of writers (οἱ πλεῖστοι)²⁴.

Another interesting example is the story about the tattoo inflicted on the Athenian prisoners by the Samians, as revenge for the tattoo that the Athenians had forced on the Samian captives (*Per.* 26.3-4). Plutarch writes that "to these brand-marks, they say (λέγουσι), the verse of Aristophanes made riddling reference: For oh! How lettered is the folk of the Samians!" (Σαμίων ὁ δῆμός ἐστιν ὥς πολυγράμματος; Aristoph., *CAF* I, fr. 64). Photios comments on this verse of the *Babylonians* of Aristophanes, reporting different interpretations of it, and ends his entry by referring to some (οἱ δέ) who say that the verse arose from the affair of the tattoos of the Samian war. The lexicographer also labels the story as a fiction (πλάσμα) made up by Douris of Samos²⁵. We don't know if Photios included Plutarch among his sources and if his judgment depends on him, but it is interesting to remember that the biographer reported the episode without mentioning Douris or indirectly criticizing his false account²⁶.

– *Memorable sayings and statements.* Ancient sources on the revolt of Samos include a kind of textual re-use that can be classified in the large field of memorable sayings and statements. Plutarch says that Pericles

²³ Plut., *Per.* 24.1; 25.1; 25.2; 26.1; 26.4; 27.2; 28.5; Harp., *Lex.* s.v. Ἀσπασία; Phot., *Lex.* s.v. Τὰ Σαμίων ὑποπτεύεις.

²⁴ Plut., *Per.* 26.1 (= Stesimbr., *FGrHist* 107 F8 = *FGrHistContin* 1002 F8).

²⁵ Phot., *Lex.* s.v. Σαμίων ὁ δῆμος (= Dour. Sam., *FGrHist* 76 F66 = *BNJ* 76 F66). Cf. also *ibid.*, s.v. Τὰ Σαμίων ὑποπτεύεις (where we have a reference to the atrocities committed by the Athenians against the Samians); *Suda* [Σ 75, 77], s.vv. Σάμη, Σαμίων ὁ δῆμος. Photios recounts the story reversing the two symbols of the tattoo as reported by Plutarch (cf. Ael., *VH* 2.9).

²⁶ On the tattoos and their symbols see Stadter (1989) 249-251, part. 250: "Jacoby (*FGrHist* ad loc.) thinks that P. did not use Duris directly here, but that Duris may have quoted the verse from Aristophanes. On the other hand, P. may have found the citation to Duris in a grammarian's commentary to Aristophanes. But other combinations are possible"; Karavites (1985) 54-56; Jones (1987) 149-150.

didn't leave any writings except for decrees, and that only a few of his memorable sayings were preserved (ἔγγραφον μὲν οὖν οὐδὲν ἀπολέλοιπε πλὴν τῶν ψηφισμάτων: ἀπομνημονεύεται δ' ὀλίγα παντάπασιν: *Per.* 8.5). In the same passage the biographer quotes Pericles' famous reference to Aegina as an "eye-sore of the Piraeus" and recalls what the Athenian said to Sophocles about his love for young boys, when they were both generals in the Samian war ("it is not his hands only, Sophocles, that a general must keep clean, but his eyes as well"). Plutarch reports other memorable sayings of Pericles in the context of the revolt of Samos, including the sentences pronounced in the funeral speech for the fallen, his famous reply to Elpinice when she criticized him for having declared war against an allied island, and Pericles' self comparison to Agamemnon²⁷. Plutarch's quotations reveal that these sayings were preserved by fifth-century writers like Stesimbrotos of Thasos and Ion of Chios, and traces of them are still identifiable in Aristotle (*Rhet.* 3.1407a) and Cicero (*De offic.* 1.144)²⁸.

– *Quotations inside quotations.* Plutarch devotes a part of his account to Artemon, the engineer who designed the machines employed in the siege of Samos, and quotes Ephoros as his source²⁹. Inside this reference, Plutarch puts a quotation from Herakleides Pontikos, who rejected the explanation of Ephoros about the origin of the nickname of Artemon. According to Herakleides, the nickname Periphoretos was first given to one Artemon who lived many generations before the Samian war and was mentioned in the poems of Anacreon³⁰. Another example is provided by the verse of Archilochos quoted by Pericles when replying to Elpinices' criticism³¹. In this case we don't have the reference source for the anecdote, but only an *unnamed quotation* expressed with the verb λέγεται, and the citation of the verse of Archilochos appears as a *named quotation* inside an *unnamed* one.

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²⁷ Plut., *Per.* 8.6 (= Stesimbr., *FGrHist* 107 F9 = *FGrHistCont* 1002 F9) and 28.5 (= Archil., F205 West; Ion Chius, *FGrHist* 392 F16 = *BNJ* 392 F16).

²⁸ On the possible existence of a collection of speeches of Pericles see Podlecki (1998) 124-125.

²⁹ Plut., *Per.* 27.3 (= Ephor., *FGrHist* 70 F194).

³⁰ Plut., *Per.* 27.3-4 (= Heracl. Pont., F60 Wehrli = F45 Schütrumpf; Anacr., *PMG* fr. 27). On the complexity of this passage and on the debate on the origin of the nickname Periphoretos, see Stadter (1989) 253-254 and Parmeggiani (2011) 426.

³¹ Plut., *Per.* 28.5 (= Archil., F205 West).

The second evidence concerning the revolt of Samos, which is crucial for exploring the citation habits of ancient authors, is an extensive quotation from the *Epidemiai* of Ion of Chios preserved by Athenaeus in the *Deipnosophists*³². In this passage the Chian writer describes his participation in a symposium that took place on the island of Chios when Sophocles stopped there on his way to Lesbos as a general for the Samian war. The fragment is quoted by Athenaeus as an amusing anecdote to demonstrate Sophocles' love of boys³³. On that occasion the tragedian was invited by Hermesilaos, who was a Chian friend of his and proxenus of Athens, and the whole scene at the symposium revolves around a young and handsome wine-pourer who is the object of Sophocles' attraction. This fact gives the symposiasts an opportunity to display their knowledge and the passage is filled with literary quotations by Sophocles and an anonymous schoolmaster (γραμματῶν διδάσκαλος) who was present at the banquet. The scene ends with a joke by Sophocles, who answers to Pericles' reproaches concerning his being an excellent poet but not a good general.

Also in this case it is possible to focus on different examples of quotation types that describe textual re-uses by ancient authors:

- multi-framed quotations
- cross-genre quotations
- erudite quotations and reference collections of quotes

– *Multi-framed quotations*. The long fragment of Ion is a good example of a very effective recontextualization of a quotation inside a new text³⁴. We don't know the original context of the fragment, but the latter suits Athenaeus' purposes very well, given that Ion's passage reproduces the same multi-framed structure of the *Deipnosophists*, which describes a banquet hosted by Publius Livius Larensis with erudite men who discuss many different topics by quoting a huge collection of literary texts³⁵.

³² Athen., *Deipn.* 13.81 (603e) = Ion Chius, *FGrHist* 392 T5b and F6 = *BNJ* 392 T5b and F6.

³³ For other sources on Sophocles' strategy see Cic., *De off.* 1.144; Plut., *Per.* 8.5; Strabo 14.1.18; Justin, *Hist. Phil.* 3.6.12-13; Aristod., *FGrHist* 104 F1 (15.4) = *BNJ* 104 F1 (15.4); *Vita Soph.* 1; *Suda* [M 496], s.v. Μέλητος; *Schol. in Aristoph. Pac.* 697c. Cf. also Webster (1936).

³⁴ This passage is the longest extant quotation from Ion. See A. Katsaros in *BNJ* 392 F6; Jennings & Katsaros (2007) *passim*.

³⁵ On the structure of the *Deipnosophists* and the role of Larensis, see Braund (2000); Wilkins (2000); Jacob (2001).

A similar multi-framed structure is described in the anecdote preserved by Ion, where we have learned protagonists debating philological questions during a historical symposium hosted by Hermesilaos at Chios. In this case the *historical frame* opens and closes the scene with the reference to Sophocles' mission and the final joke about Pericles' reproach, which brings us back to the historical context of the event. Inside this frame, Ion builds two other interconnected frames: the *symptotic frame* focused on the scene around the handsome wine-pourer, and the *literary frame* with the competition between Sophocles and the anonymous schoolmaster. This last frame is the core scene of the episode and includes quotations from Phrynichos, Simonides, and Pindaros, who are cited not only as an evidence of erudition, but also for extending the time of the symposium and amplifying the pleasure of contemplating the young, good-looking boy³⁶.

– *Cross-genre quotations.* As we have seen above, the literary frame of the fragment of Ion includes quotations from Phrynichos and Simonides, and an unnamed verse of Pindaros. In addition to them, the schoolmaster introduces a comparison between literature and painting and discusses the way in which a painter should have represented the red cheeks of the young wine-pourer serving at the symposium. Sophocles sharply replies to the man and debates the weakness of his argument, by showing the difference among expressive tools used by poets and painters for representing and describing human beauty. In this case we don't have a direct reference to a specific picture, but the tragedian certainly had in mind examples of Greek masterpieces, and therefore the discussion enriches the literary frame with cross-genre allusions that include different media, such as textual and visual works of poetry and painting.

It is also worth remembering that the whole passage drawn from the work of Ion is an example of cross-genre quotation and can accordingly be classified as a fragment both about history and literature. Ion is able to merge different levels of reality by describing distinct aspects of Sophocles' personality on the background of the Athenian war against Samos: the first aspect is the office of the tragedian as a general and the description of his stay at Chios during the mission to Lesbos; the second aspect is the role played by Sophocles in the symptotic context, where he

³⁶ Phryn., *TrGF* 3 F13; Sim., *PMG* fr. 80; Pind., *Ol.* 6.41. Cf. Davidson (2000) 302-303.

not only displays his knowledge and resorts to a stratagem to approach the young boy and kiss him, but also shows his great artistic skills by giving an impressive lesson about literary criticism and aesthetics³⁷.

– *Erudite quotations and reference collections of quotes*. The passage of Ion certainly suited Athenaeus' needs not only for the anecdote about Sophocles, but also because it is an example of a small collection of quotes from Greek poetry, reproducing in an abridged form the main characteristic of the *Deipnosophists*, which is a huge 'library' of citations of Classical texts³⁸. Symptotic knowledge and its description by authors such as Ion and Athenaeus raise questions about information management in ancient times. It is indeed plausible that there was an availability of reference tools for retrieving and quoting passages of literary texts, with a precision that wouldn't have been otherwise possible if authors had to recall them by heart. It is therefore mostly probable that scholars like Athenaeus — and possibly also the learned protagonists depicted by him — had at their disposal working tools as glossaries, lexica, collections of quotes, private notes and other learning aids that gathered textual passages and word commentaries, so that they could accurately cite and argue about them in different contexts like symposia or literary works³⁹.

* * *

The last source that I am going to consider is a quotation from the *Samian Chronicles* (Ὠροὶ Σαμιακοί) of Alexis of Samos. The fragment is preserved in the *Deipnosophists*, in a context concerning *hetairai* and their festivals. In this context there is a passage concerning the sanctuaries of Aphrodite, and Athenaeus mentions Alexis because he reported the existence of a Samian shrine of this goddess that was dedicated by the Athenian *hetairai* who accompanied the army of Pericles when he was besieging Samos⁴⁰.

³⁷ Cf. Leurini (1987). On the linguistic aspects of the episode see Ricciardelli Apicella (1989). On the difficulties of classifying many fragments of Ion of Chios belonging to unnamed works, see Leurini (1980).

³⁸ See Jacob (2000) and (2001) xi-cxvi, part. lxxiv.

³⁹ Cf. Blair (2010) 19 for a comparison between the method of Athenaeus and those used by scholars and humanists in early modern Europe. On this aspect of the work of Athenaeus see also now Berti (2013a).

⁴⁰ Athen., *Deipn.* 13.31 (572f) = Alex. Sam., *FGrHist* 539 F1 = *BNJ* 539 F1. Cf. Henry (2000) 504-507.

The “frustrating brevity” of this quotation is a great limit for reconstructing the meaning of the information provided by Alexis, but at the same time it can be significant for saying something about its transmission and probably also about its original context. Athenaeus is very careful in giving us the book number and the title of the work of Alexis (ἐν δευτέρῳ Ὀρων Σαμιακῶν), and it is possible that he is quoting at least some of the original words of the author, even if it is not clear whether the epithets of Aphrodite must be considered part of the quotation⁴¹. This accuracy reinforces our hypothesis about the possibility that ancient authors like Athenaeus — and the learned men represented by him — had at their disposal reference tools for quoting passages from literary texts about many different topics. In this case, probably the episode narrated by Alexis was excerpted and collected as part of other information concerning Aphrodite and her numerous epithets and places of worship.

This possibility opens the much-discussed question about the original structure and goals of local chronicles, such as those written by Alexis and his fellow countryman Douris of Samos⁴². In this example, we don’t know if the chronological aspect of the quotation is due to the annalistic nature of the *Samian Chronicles* of Alexis or if it depends on an *intermediate quoter*, who extracted from the original text only the essential information about the chronological and historical context of the dedication of the shrine of Aphrodite. *Intermediate quotations* certainly had an important role in the preservation and transmission of works of local history, as I have already argued in my commentary on the Athenian fragments of Istros the Callimachean⁴³.

The *frustrating brevity* of the quotation, the possible role of an *intermediate quoter*, and the needs of the *final quoter* (i.e., Athenaeus) are some of the many issues to be addressed when working with *completely decontextualized quotations* of lost works. In this case, things are remarkably challenging because we don’t know anything about Alexis, except for his provenance from Samos, the title of his work, and two fragments preserved by Athenaeus in the *Deipnosophists*⁴⁴. Many conjectures are therefore possible, and the mention of the *hetairai* of

⁴¹ D’Hautcourt (2006).

⁴² Pédech (1989) 274-288; Landucci Gattinoni (1997) 205-223.

⁴³ Berti (2009) 11-22.

⁴⁴ A. D’Hautcourt in *BNJ* 539. Pédech (1989) 275 considers Alexis “certinement postérieur” of Douris, but without proposing a chronology.

Pericles' army could have occurred in many different contexts, such as surveys of religious or architectural and archaeological information about Samos, or a historical account of the war brought by the Athenians against the island⁴⁵.

* * *

This brief analysis of the sources on the revolt of Samos has drawn attention to some of the manners and habits displayed by ancient authors when excerpting, quoting, transforming, re-adapting, and re-contextualizing information gathered from a wide variety of works and documents. As I mentioned at the beginning of the paper, recent tendencies in scholarship reveal the necessity of a *relation type perspective* when dealing with textual re-uses of lost works. This perspective leads us to go beyond the three fundamental relationships involved in every occurrence of quotations of lost texts: (1) *quotation – quoter*, (2) *quotation – quoting text* (*cover-text* or *target text*), and (3) *quotation – original text* (this kind of relation is comparable to the *archetype* reconstruction of manuscript traditions). Digital media and cross-disciplinary studies enable us to describe and represent other textual relationships that are implied when working with quotations of lost texts:

– *Relationship with other genres*. This relation was the most challenging one when Felix Jacoby designed his great plan for the structure of *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, and it is still one of the main concerns of the editors of the continuation of Jacoby's work⁴⁶. Besides genre classification, large collections of fragments have also adopted a conventional distinction between *fragmenta* and *testimonia*, whose characteristics are nevertheless very difficult to define and keep separate⁴⁷.

These criteria for arranging fragments in modern editions are part of a debate about digital libraries of classical sources, where meta-data can

⁴⁵ Some scholars have seen in this text a hidden attack against Aspasia and her responsibility for the outbreak of the Samian war, given that she was said to train young *hetairai* (παιδίσκας ἑταιρούσας τρέφουσιν: Plut., *Per.* 24.3): Stadter (1989) 235-236; Podlecki (1998) 125; D'Hautcourt (2006) 315-316.

⁴⁶ Schepens (1998), (2006a) and (2006b).

⁴⁷ Schepens (1997a); Laks (1997). It is also worth recalling the *Imitationen* adopted by Diels and Kranz in their collection of fragments of Presocratic philosophers, by which they meant works that take an author as a model. On the difficult task of collecting and editing philosophical fragments see Grilli (1981).

express the complexity of genre classifications⁴⁸. A dynamic and multi-layer structure of digital data covers many types of information, including categories and typologies devised by editors. Such a structure allows scholars to represent ancient sources according to many different principles, while not scattering and repeating the same text inside a collection. Moreover, an accurate representation of meta-data can produce multiple print layouts and indexes of concordances, so that Classicists don't have to renounce their tradition of multi-genre classifications, but can rather enrich and represent it in a more efficacious and flexible way, avoiding strict and definitive boundaries that are very misleading and not applicable to ancient sources.

– *Relationship with other writers and other quotations.* Collecting fragments in the 21st century means also creating a structure in which fragmentary authors can 'talk' with each other, revealing their different attitudes and perspectives. A recent effort has been made by Philip Harding, who has edited a book on the story of Athens with a collection of fragments of the Atthidographers arranged by topic and date, and not by author⁴⁹. Such an experiment is useful for comparing behaviors and positions of fragmentary historians, adopting a criterion that is alternative to the one that privileges single authors and genre classifications⁵⁰. Once again, digital tools are a further help for arranging quotes of ancient writers, allowing editors to focus on a certain topic and select the authors who have dealt with it in their works. In the case of the story of Athens, such a possibility would include not only the Atthidographers, but also other sources that have addressed the same subject even though not belonging to the same literary genre.

– *Relationship with non-citations.* Simon Hornblower has defined *non-citations* as those cases in which “an author gives a fact in a form which leads us to suspect that he has used some earlier writer, not mentioned”⁵¹. *Non-citations* can be therefore considered as an extreme form of those *unnamed* or *impersonal quotations* that have been discussed above. In this case our possibilities are limited and every editor should be very

⁴⁸ Berti (2012b).

⁴⁹ Harding (2008).

⁵⁰ This problem was already addressed by Felix Jacoby when he devised the plan of his collection of fragments: see Schepens (2010).

⁵¹ Hornblower (1994) 58 ('Intertextuality and the Greek historians').

careful when hypothesizing their existence. Nevertheless, we can't skip the question on how to deal with them and how to describe and represent them both in traditional print publications and new digital collections⁵².

– *Relationship with readers*. When working with fragments of lost texts, we should always ask *why* and *how* ancient authors quoted other writers, texts, and documents. Of course we can have many different answers to such a question, but at least some of them should address the relationship between authors and their readers (or listeners). As we have seen with *gossip* and *authoritative quotations*, and with *quotations as demonstrations*, there are many examples in which ancient authors quote other sources not just for the sake of collecting information or arguing with other writers and defending their position, but also for affecting readers's judgments and provoking a reaction on their part. This kind of relationship should be explored in a deeper way and find a wider space in the commentaries included in collections of fragmentary authors.

– *Relationship with libraries*. By *libraries* we mean the relationship of every fragmentary author with his own knowledge, his access to public archives, collections of books, research centers, and the availability of working tools for aiding memory and gathering heterogeneous materials. As for the relationship with readers, this aspect should also be explored in a wider context, keeping in mind the cultural environment in which every author lived and worked⁵³.

– *Relationship with reality*. John Marincola has recently addressed some theoretical issues surrounding historiographical studies of allusion and intertextuality⁵⁴. He has focused attention on the peculiarity of historiography and the necessity of determining if such phenomena should be identified and analysed in it in a way different from in literature, where allusion and intertextuality were initially developed and employed. The reason for this question is that when studying historical texts we deal

⁵² On this aspect see already Jacoby (1909) 120, who distinguishes three different cases for his collection of fragments: 1) *namentliche Fragmente*, 2) *kollektive Zitate*, and 3) *die ohne Quellenangaben zitierten Daten*. The last one is very similar to the concept of non-citations expressed by Hornblower.

⁵³ On this aspect cf. Berti (2013b).

⁵⁴ J. Marincola, 'Intertextuality and Exempla', presented at the seminar that he organized at the American Philological Association meeting held in San Antonio in 2011 (*Allusion and Intertextuality in Classical Historiography*): see note 21.

with “works that claim (or that we think claim) to have some relationship to the real world of history”. Therefore our reflections on relationships among fragmentary authors shouldn’t be focused only on a textual and literary level, but should also include a level of “intertextuality of real life”, which is a basic component of historiographical works and interferes with a presentation of reality mediated by literature. Our small collection of fragmentary sources on the revolt of Samos includes a significant example of intertextuality of real life in the quotation from the *Epidemiai* of Ion of Chios. The Chian writer is able to create a mixture of literary and historical elements that constantly interrelate with two real aspects of Sophocles’ life, namely his role as a general for the Samian war and his extraordinary skills as a poet and sympotic entertainer.

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THE STUDY OF INTERMEDIATE AUTHORS AND ITS ROLE IN THE INTERPRETATION OF HISTORICAL FRAGMENTS*

Abstract: This paper aims to address some of the questions raised by the study of fragmentary prose writers from a methodological point of view. It especially concerns the study of intermediate authors, that is: the authors who (seem to) bear witness to lost writings within their own works. Whereas scholars of the 19th and 20th centuries were first of all concerned with gathering so-called fragments, a more critical view developed in the last decades of the 20th century. Some scholars pointed out that fragments were the result of a selection and adaptation made by an intermediate author, and they consequently tried to take this into account in the process of interpretation. Now, this requires complex analysis. This paper argues, first, that general studies on the methods and aims of a specific intermediate author can and should help in this process, second, that considering the intermediate authors can and should play a role at many levels of interpretation. Such needs are exemplified with concrete examples. It is, first, shown how the general study of Athenaeus' methods and aims has recently influenced the edition and interpretation of historical fragments found in his work, so that it could play an essential role in determining such important features as the chronology of the quoted historian or the paternity of value judgements. Then, it is argued that the study of intermediate authors may help assessing whether a fragment may be considered a witness to the original text's vocabulary, as well as determining whether an explanation is due to the original or to the intermediate author. The study of intermediate authors consequently appears to be integral to any solid interpretation of fragments.

The word 'fragment' is clearly a hangover from a time when scholars felt they were rediscovering within extant works texts which, until then, had been considered lost. Its use suggests an analogy with material papyrus fragments, and it erases the difference between direct and indirect tradition. It cannot be stated often enough how inadequate the word

* This paper was presented at a round table on *Collecting Fragments in the 21st Century* held on the 14th of May 2012 at the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven. It responds to an invitation to contribute to the Leuven Laboratory for Critical Text Editing by addressing questions raised by fragmentary prose writers from a methodological point of view. Since it is better to speak of methodology based on concrete examples, this paper partly builds upon earlier studies of mine, which I hope to have gathered together here in a new light in order to exemplify a more general attitude toward the study of intermediate authors. I am most grateful to Stefan Schorn and Guido Schepens for their invaluable suggestions after reading a first draft.

'fragment' is and how misleading with regard to the nature of the texts in question.¹ A philologist is not an archaeologist. An expression like 'intermediate author' at least has the advantage of showing the difference between a 'fragment' stemming from *Quellenforschung* and a 'fragment' stemming from *Papyrusforschung*. It conveys the existence of an additional stage in the process of transmission, even if it provides only a too vague or even distorted picture of this process.

Scholars of the 19th and 20th centuries invested much energy in the extraction from extant literature and the gathering together of textual traces which were thought to bear witness to lost historical writings and which could be traced back to a named author. Their main concern was to delimit and collect as completely as possible the pieces of text that could stem from an original lost work. Their extensive efforts gave rise to important and fundamental collections of fragments. However, their interest in intermediate authors was first and foremost an interest in treasure-troves of fragments.

It was only in the last decades of the 20th century that the notion of the fragment came under question, or at least the naive understanding of it as being simply a piece of a lost work. After the pioneering paper of Peter Brunt, published in 1980,² the critical trend fully developed more than a decade later, especially among scholars responsible for editing and commenting fragments of historians.³ These scholars pointed out that, far from being just pieces extracted from an original work, fragments were the result of a selection and adaptation made by the intermediate author.

Of course, this observation was not entirely new, and we would not be doing justice, for example, to Jacoby if we claimed that he was not aware of it. Indeed, in some cases it suffices to compare two parallel fragments to realise that one of them, or even both, have deviated from the original text. But Jacoby, who had so much to do with the gathering

¹ As Stefan Schorn has suggested to me, it seems that we have yet to find a better word. Brunt's *reliquiae* (see Brunt (1980)) has the same shortcomings as 'fragment', while *testimonium* (see Döring (1972): *Testimonien, Zeugnisse*, either on life or on works) can be confusing because modern collections of *historical* fragments conventionally reserve this term for allusions to the lives of authors and to others' explicit judgments on their works — *Testimonia* (T) as distinct from *Fragmenta* (F). The weight of that convention is likely to further impose the use of 'fragment' in the future as well.

² Brunt (1980).

³ See Vattuone (1991) 11-15; Most (1997), esp. Schepens (1997); Lenfant (1999). See also Pelling (2000).

and editing of historical fragments, never theorized on the role played by intermediate authors, nor did he systematically try to confront the issue. New in recent times, on the other hand, is the tendency to exhibit rather than to erase the role played by intermediate authors in the composition of their own texts (from which we extract the fragments) and, consequently, to take this into account in the process of interpretation.

Studying the part played by the intermediate author in fact requires complex analysis, the result of which never merely consists in concluding that a given 'fragment' is faithful to the source text or not. The complex relationship between the 'fragment' and the lost original text has been best theorized by Guido Schepens, who developed the idea of a 'cover-text' to designate the works in which 'fragments' are found. According to him, these works 'cover' a previous text in a threefold manner: first, they preserve it; second, they conceal it (for example, with a different wording); third, they enclose it in a new context which may, in turn, create new meaning.⁴ Schepens' term, although it may appear somewhat esoteric, is certainly more eloquent than 'intermediate author (or text)': it emphasizes the active role of the intermediate author, and sounds in itself as a warning.

Such a shift of perspective on 'fragments' was in part linked to the new editions of historical fragments that had recently been undertaken and had given rise to questions of methodology.⁵ In fact, at this time, there were important changes in the practices of the editors of fragments, who began to take into account the role played by intermediate authors. This can be seen in several of these editors' introductions and in the detailed commentaries they provide on the fragments.

In this way, certain steps have already been taken and the initiative should now be continued in two directions:

1) It is necessary to study the aims and methods of cover-texts, and many intermediate authors are in need of special consideration in this respect. The symposia held on historical fragments contained in Polybius, Athenaeus and the Suda constitute important first steps.⁶ The

⁴ See Schepens (1997) 167 n. 66.

⁵ See e.g. the continuation of Jacoby (Part IV, under the direction of G. Schepens), the collection *I Frammenti degli storici greci* and the edition of Ctesias' fragments in the *Collection des Universités de France* (a revised and abridged version of my doctoral thesis of 1994). Awareness of the issue does, however, predate these works (see Vattuone (1991)).

⁶ Schepens & Bollansée (2005); Lenfant (2007a); Vanotti (2010).

results of such research should help in assessing the value of the fragments extracted from these and other cover-texts.

2) In interpreting the details of fragments, one must always keep in mind that it is not the 'true' text of the author under consideration. On the other hand, we should try, if possible, to go beyond simply adopting a position of outright scepticism with regard to 'knowing' the fragmentary authors. Taking into account the habits of the intermediate author is often a fruitful means of guiding interpretation.⁷

I would like to show, first, how general studies on the methods and aims of a specific intermediate author can and should aid historical analysis; second, how studying the intermediate authors can and should play a role at many levels of interpretation. I will illustrate this with some examples taken from fragments of *Persica*, which lie within my own field of research.

My first point will summarize how the general study of Athenaeus' methods and aims has influenced my interpretation of some of Dinon's and Heracleides' fragments. My second and third points will concentrate on two fields where it is not usually easy to know whether an item derives from the source or if it has been introduced by the intermediate author, namely vocabulary and explanation. I will conclude with some more general thoughts on the approach we should adopt when dealing with fragmentary historians.

1. THE STUDY OF ATHENAEUS' METHODS AND ITS APPLICATIONS IN THE INTERPRETATION OF FRAGMENTS

The colloquium on "Athenaeus and the fragments of historians" which was held in Strasbourg in 2005 focused on the *Deipnosophists* as a source of information for the works quoted by Athenaeus. It mainly concentrated on historical writings, although it was also thought enlight-

⁷ The importance of considering the context of a reference to an earlier author is arguably self-evident. Vattuone (1991) 11-12, warned his reader that Jacoby's edition of the *Fragmente* could be "il luogo di una pericolosa illusione", that "dei frammenti non ci si può servire, considerandoli già pronti, così come sono pubblicati, per i propri scopi" and that fragments "cominciano ad avere un qualche significato all'interno di un commento (...), presuppongono l'opera intera da cui variamente sono stati tratti e tutto l'incommensurabile spazio referenziale della cultura dell'autore nel proprio tempo."

ening to compare fragments from other literary genres (such as medicine, philosophy, or poetry).

Two introductory, general surveys shed light on the discrepancies between Athenaeus' aims and perspectives and those of the historians to whom he abundantly refers. The considerations contained in these surveys need to be kept in mind when analysing fragments found in the *Deipnosophists*. However, the bulk of this collaborative investigation consisted of a series of case-studies concerning three types of objects: quotations of extant historical writings, fragments of lost historians, and fragments from other literary genres. The main goal was to assess the value of the fragments and their proximity to the original text, in short, their capacity to bear witness on the latter. However, as already noted, the aim of these studies was not to present a simple verdict on Athenaeus as a faithful or not faithful reproducer of his source text. Every study tried to assess the nature of the reproduction, its degree of literality, if there was a contamination of several sources, how the quotation was delimited, and what Athenaeus' additions and corrections were. Attention was also paid to the effects of the changing context: did Athenaeus give an idea of the context from which the citation was extracted? Less obvious, but more important: what were the visible effects of the new context in which the quotation was inserted? What sort of material was selected by Athenaeus, and could that selection be representative of the quoted work? Despite valuable previous work, such a study had never been carried out upon this scale; it required internal textual analysis, study of the context, and, above all, comparison with extant writings or parallel fragments.

Within that framework, I myself worked on one of the very few extant historians quoted by Athenaeus, Herodotus.⁸ I tried to assess how Athenaeus reproduced or adapted the latter's text, and what impression he gave of the historian's work. The results can be summarized as follows.

Firstly, the selection of 43 Herodotus 'fragments' is not a representative one, and is even, in some respects, misleading. More precisely, Athenaeus chooses passages that allude to meals and drinking, and to descriptions of Barbarian realia, but he does not refer to narrative and political aspects. Many fragments lack any indication of time and space, and when we read about Egypt, we get the impression that Herodotus

⁸ Lenfant (2007b).

depicted this country as being inhabited by drunkards. This all comes as no surprise, in light of Athenaeus' own purpose and his penchant for literary play. However, it needs to be kept in mind when trying to understand authors transmitted via his work.

Secondly, the comparison shows that *verbatim* quotations do exist in Athenaeus, but that paraphrases are more common. I also found (or confirmed)⁹ some formal criteria for distinguishing between paraphrase and quotation¹⁰ (a useful distinction for the interpretation of some fragments, as will be seen below). Finally, I observed the frequent kinds of distortion in the paraphrases and how the new context (that of the *Deipnosophists*) could give the quoted text a different meaning (for example, in an illustration of *tryphe*, which in Athenaeus' view was a pejorative notion, but not for Herodotus).

In my role as an editor and interpreter of fragments, which was my point of departure, the consideration of Athenaeus' methods has been helpful. Let us take some examples from Dinon's and Heracleides' fragments of *Persica*:¹¹ Athenaeus provides us with a third of Dinon's fragments and half of Heracleides', and thus it is all the more important to assess the value of his testimony.

It comes as no surprise that the fragments are more or less related to food and table themes, but Herodotus' case proves that these should not be considered as the main concerns of Dinon and Heracleides.¹² In a similar fashion, Athenaeus' predilection for description at the expense of narration should not be considered as a characteristic feature of his sources, and we may then correct what has often been said in that respect about Heracleides (on the basis of four fragments drawn from Athenaeus, although two others from Plutarch do attest to narrative issues).

In addition to these warnings about the nature of Athenaeus' selection, the knowledge of his general methods helps in assessing in which way(s) the quoted text could have been distorted. Thanks to the formal criteria observed in the case of Herodotus, it is possible to distinguish

⁹ See already Zepernick (1921).

¹⁰ Lenfant (2007b) 50-53: these are mainly the expressions used to introduce the 'fragments'.

¹¹ See Lenfant (2009).

¹² I am aware that what is true for Herodotus is not necessarily true for other, less well-known historians (Lenfant (2007b) 69-70). However, the selective citing of Herodotus' work by Athenaeus shows at least how dangerous it would be to use Athenaeus' quotes to draw conclusions about the subject matter of a given fragmentary author's work.

literal quotations from paraphrases, something which can be crucial for the interpretation of a fragment. For example, in the fragment from Heracleides on the Persian king, on his concubines and his bodyguard (F 1),¹³ the words ὥς ἱστορεῖ ὁ Κυμαῖος Ἡρακλείδης reveal that this is a paraphrase, and not a quotation. As a result, one cannot conclude — as some have — from the past tense (ἦσαν) that Heracleides was writing after the fall of the Persian Empire; in reality, the past tense has been introduced by Athenaeus, and probably was not used by Heracleides. This technical detail is not insignificant, since it helps in determining Heracleides' chronology.¹⁴

Another warning concerns the words that introduce quotations. Herodotus' fragments have shown that these were Athenaeus' words, and that they often lead the reader to adopt Athenaeus' own interpretation. For example, when Athenaeus quotes Herodotus about Smindyrides of Sybaris,¹⁵ the non-pejorative χλιδή of Herodotus is interpreted in Athenaeus' introductory words as an instance of τρυφή, which in his view is a pejorative notion.¹⁶ In the same way, Athenaeus gives some of Dinon's fragments as examples of the Persian king's *tryphe* and *hêdypatheia* (the theme of his book 12),¹⁷ while there is nothing to indicate that this was Dinon's perspective when describing, for example, the King's perfumed headgear.¹⁸

¹³ Heracleides F1 (Athenaeus, 12.514b-c): *Φυλάσσουσί τε αὐτὸν καὶ τριακόσiai γυναικες, ὥς ἱστορεῖ ὁ Κυμαῖος Ἡρακλείδης ἐν πρώτῃ Περσικῶν. Αὐταὶ δὲ τὰς μὲν ἡμέρας κοιμῶνται, ἵνα νυκτὸς ἐγρηγορῶσι, τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς ἄδουσαι καὶ ψάλλουσαι διατελοῦσι, λύχνων καιομένων.*

Χρηταὶ δὲ αὐταῖς καὶ πολλάκις ὁ βασιλεὺς < διελθὼν > διὰ τῆς τῶν μελοφόρων αὐλῆς. ἦσαν δὲ οὗτοι τῶν δορυφόρων καὶ τῷ γένει πάντες Πέρσαι, ἐπὶ τῶν στυράκων μῆλα χρυσᾶ ἔχοντες, χίλιοι τὸν ἀριθμὸν, ἀριστίνδην ἐκλεγόμενοι ἐκ τῶν μυρίων Περσῶν τῶν Ἀθανάτων καλουμένων. (...)

¹⁴ For more details, see Lenfant (2009) 269.

¹⁵ Περί δὲ Σμινδυρίδου τοῦ Συβαρίτου καὶ τῆς τούτου **τρυφῆς** ἱστόρησεν Ἡρόδοτος ἐν τῇ ἕκτῃ ὥς ἀποπλέων ἐπὶ τὴν μνηστείαν τῆς Κλεισθένης τοῦ Σικυωνίων τυράννου θυγατρὸς Ἀγαρίστης, φησὶν, ἀπὸ μὲν Ἰταλῆς (ἦλθε *om. Ath.*) Σμινδυρίδης ὁ Ἰπποκράτειος (Ἰπποκράτεος *Hdt.*) Συβαρίτης, ὅς ἐπὶ πλείστον δὴ **χλιδῆς** εἷς ἀνὴρ ἀφίκετο (Ath. 12.541b). Cf. Hdt. 6.126-127.

¹⁶ Lenfant (2007b) 60-62, esp. 61.

¹⁷ At the beginning of Book 12 a *logos* περὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τρυφῇ διαβοήτων γενομένων... καὶ τῆς τούτων ἡδυπαθείας (Ath. 12.510b) is announced.

¹⁸ Dinon F25a (Athenaeus 12.514a): Καὶ τὸ παράσημον δὲ ὃ ἐπετίθεντο τῇ κεφαλῇ οἱ τῶν Περσῶν βασιλεῖς οὐδ' αὐτὸ ἡρνεῖτο τὴν τῆς ἡδυπαθείας ἀπόλαυσιν. Κατεσκευάζετο γάρ, ὥς φησι Δίνων, ἐκ σμύρνης καὶ τοῦ καλουμένου λαβύζου. Εὐδῶδης δ' ἐστὶν ἡ λάβυζος καὶ πολυτιμότερα τῆς σμύρνης. Here ἡδυπαθεία is

These instances clearly show how knowledge of the aims and methods of the intermediate author can play an essential role in determining such important features as the chronology of the quoted historian or possible value judgements.

2. FRAGMENTS AS WITNESSES TO THE ORIGINAL TEXT'S VOCABULARY

As a general rule, studying the vocabulary of a fragmentary historian is a risky undertaking, since in most cases fragments are not *verbatim* quotations and the intermediate author often changes the wording of his model.¹⁹ He may change the words for at least two reasons: first, he may be adapting the vocabulary to that of his own time with the intention of making reading easier; second, he may be adapting it to suit his own literary purpose.

Despite this strong tendency, the question of vocabulary does sometimes arise when interpreting fragmentary historians. And while it is certainly vain to conduct a survey of common terms, the same may not be true for specific or technical words: in that case, an investigation into the aims and methods of the quoting author, or of his own habitual vocabulary, may be helpful.

Let us take an example from *Persica* fragments. I have recently studied the ways in which Greeks translated into their own language the words used by Persians to designate officials, and, in order to exclude potential later rewordings, I chose to adopt a synchronic perspective and to limit my study to writings that were contemporary with the Persian Empire.²⁰ The question arose, then, whether or not I could also take Ctesias' fragments into account without running the risk of anachronism.²¹ Two words will be considered here in this respect.

1) The first is rather simple. The word ἀζαβαρίτης is a *hapax* which can be found in the summary of Ctesias by Photius:

Βασιλεύει δὲ Σεκυνδιανὸς καὶ γίνεται ἀζαβαρίτης αὐτῷ Μενοστάνης.
Sekyndianos becomes king and Menostanes becomes his *azabarites*.²²

clearly Athenaeus' word and topic. See Lenfant (2009) 47, 213-214. The same argument has already been convincingly put forward by Bollansée (2008) about Clearchus.

¹⁹ See the second meaning of 'cover-text' in the outline above.

²⁰ Lenfant (forthcoming).

²¹ In fact, the question is also worth asking because it concerns Ctesias' own attitude toward Persian things.

²² Ctesias F15 §49 (Photius, *Bibliotheca*, 72.42a.21-22).

Was this term introduced by Photius? We know that the patriarch sometimes changed the words of the original he was summarizing. This is particularly striking when he uses the word θριαμβεύω about Artaxerxes II after the death of Cyrus, when the King wants to demonstrate to everybody that he is the victor. This is a word that Photius uses elsewhere but that Ctesias could not have employed because it refers to the Roman practice of the *triumphus*.²³ However, in this case, the substitution is not surprising, since Photius is using a word which had become common by his own time. On the contrary, not only can ἀζαβαρίτης not have been chosen as an adaptation to aid comprehension, but the word has also been recognized as the transcription of an Iranian title.²⁴ We therefore have no reason to believe that Photius did not find the word in Ctesias' *Persica*.

2) My second test case is more complicated, since it concerns a more common word: σατράπης. In his work on *Satrapes et satrapies dans l'empire achéménide*, Thierry Petit claims that Ctesias was the first Greek author to use the word σατράπης, without considering the possibility that the word could be an adaptation by intermediate authors.²⁵ The question is, however, worth asking.

Among these intermediate authors, Plutarch will not be considered here, since his *Life of Artaxerxes* draws on the *Anabasis* of Xenophon, the (assumed) second author to use the word σατράπης (as early as the beginning of the 4th century BC).

Photius, for his part, was not drawing on several sources and he is a most important witness, in fact the main intermediate author for Ctesias' history of the Persian Empire (*Persica* books 7-23). He regularly uses the word σατράπης in his summary of Ctesias' work.²⁶ However, unlike ἀζαβαρίτης, σατράπης had become a common word since Ctesias' time and it was apparently understandable to Photius' readers. Indeed, Photius uses the word elsewhere in his *Bibliotheca* without gloss or

²³ F16 §64 and Lenfant (2004) 278 n. 659.

²⁴ More precisely, ἀζαβαρίτης seems to be the alteration of the transcription ἄζαραπίτης or ἄζαραπάτης, a form which is approximately attested in Hesychius' *Lexicon* and would be a transcription of Old-Persian **hazahrapati*-. See most recently Brust (2005) s.v. ἄζαραπατεῖς, p. 48-52, and Schmitt (2007).

²⁵ Petit (1990) 18. In the same way, Brust (2005) 597 quotes several occurrences of σατράπης in Ctesias, as if the latter's work was extant via direct tradition.

²⁶ *FGrHist* 688 F9 §8, F13 §20, F14 §35, 38, 41, F15 §47, 50, 53, 55, F16 §58 and 59.

explanation.²⁷ We do not have any reason to doubt that he took it from the work he was summarizing, but we cannot prove this either. At any rate, our knowledge of Photius' methods does not help much since, although he is a rather informed reader of Ctesias' works,²⁸ he was also capable of using words not employed by his model, as we have seen in the case of θριαμβεύω.

Σατράπης also happens to be used several times by Diodorus, when the latter draws on Ctesias for his history of Assyria and Media (the subject of the first six books of Ctesias' *Persica*).²⁹ However, if one compares the other uses of the word in the rest of his *Historical Library*, no definitive conclusions about its use in the opening six books can be drawn, since Diodorus uses σατράπης in nearly every one of his extant books and well beyond the parts that could draw on Ctesias and Xenophon. Could Diodorus have introduced the word himself in his Book 2, where he otherwise was drawing on Ctesias, influenced by what he had read about other periods?³⁰ This possibility cannot be excluded, but further evidence points in another direction.

First, we can compare Diodorus' account with that of Nicolaus of Damascus, which also deals with the Assyrian and Median Empires. That author's related fragments are partly parallel to those of Ctesias-Diodorus. Importantly, the only instances of σατράπης and other words of the same family in the whole corpus of Nicolaus' fragments (eight instances in total) are all to be found in fragments that draw upon Ctesias.³¹

Moreover, that Ctesias may have used the word σατράπης in connection with the Assyrian and Median Empires — as suggested by the convergence between the accounts of Diodorus and Nicolaus³² — could be explained by the fact that he envisaged the Assyrian and Median

²⁷ There are some 12 further occurrences, a number comparable to the 10 occurrences or so in his summary of Ctesias. They are all included in 7 codices (58, 82, 91, 92, 238, 241, 258). I leave out the difficult question of the spelling *exatrapès* and other alternative forms, for which see Brust (2005).

²⁸ Lenfant (2004) CLXXXIV-CLXXXVIII. See also below.

²⁹ Assyria: F1b §2.1, §21.7, §24.3. Media: F1b §28.1.

³⁰ Books 11 to 16 notoriously have different sources, and among them Ephorus of Kyme — a city of Asia Minor where the title of *satrapes* could not have been unknown in the first half of the 4th century BC.

³¹ *FGrHist* 90 F8, F9 and F66. On Nicolaus and Ctesias, see Lenfant (2000).

³² In Nicolaus-Ctesias, satraps are mentioned under the Assyrians (Ctesias F1pε*) and under the Medians (F8d* §10 and 37).

Empires as being analogous predecessors to the Persian Empire of his time.³³

I would therefore not hesitate to conclude that *σατράπης* was in fact the word used by Ctesias himself, nor to confirm his title as the first Greek historian to have used it. This finding also conforms to a more general observation: Ctesias and Xenophon are among the Greek writers who lived for the longest time within the Persian Empire, and they are also those who sometimes use transcriptions of Persian words, such as *azabarites*, *satrapes* or *karanos* — a solution that generally was not the preferred Greek mode of translation.³⁴

In the case of the word *σατράπης*, the study of each intermediate author's own practices was not enough to resolve the matter; we only get a clearer idea because we are able to compare several different cover-texts. Ctesias-Photius, Ctesias-Diodorus and Ctesias-Nicolaus all present numerous and comparable uses of the word. However, such an opportunity for comparison does not exist for the majority of fragmentary historians.

3. EXPLANATIONS IN FRAGMENTS AND THEIR PATERNITY

Intermediate authors anxious to help their readers might be tempted to provide explanations. In that sense, an explanation could be considered as a form of adaptation for the sake of the readers, just like changes of wording. But how can we determine who is the author of the explanation? An example will show which sort of examination might help answer this question.

Yannick Muller and Francesco Mari have recently studied, each in their own way, the question of the mutilation of Cyrus the Younger by his brother King Artaxerxes II, especially that of the cutting-off of the rebel's hand.³⁵ This act is twice mentioned by Xenophon in his *Anabasis*, but without particular comment;³⁶ on the other hand, two parallel fragments of Ctesias provide more details (one from Photius, another

³³ See also the exaggeration of the extent of the Assyrian Empire. Cf. Lenfant (2004) LIII.

³⁴ See Lenfant (forthcoming).

³⁵ Muller (forthcoming) and Mari (forthcoming).

³⁶ Xenophon, *Anabasis*, 1.10.1: Κύρου ἀποτέμνεται ἡ κεφαλὴ καὶ ἡ χεὶρ ἡ δεξιὰ... 3.1.17: ἀποτεμὼν τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ τὴν χεῖρα ἀνεσταύρωσεν...

from Plutarch).³⁷ The attention paid to these details by these scholars can doubtless be explained by their concern with the practice of mutilation from an historical point of view, particularly as regards Persian customs. As often, it was a slight difference between two parallel fragments that led to the question of a possible adaptation by the intermediate author. Plutarch ascribes the amputation of the hand to “a Persian custom” (κατὰ δὴ τινα νόμον Περσῶν), while according to Photius, the King “cut off [Cyrus’] head and the hand with which [Cyrus] had struck him” (τὴν τε γὰρ κεφαλὴν καὶ τὴν χεῖρα, μεθ’ ἧς τὸν Ἀρτοξέρξην ἔβαλλεν... ἀπέτεμε). Did each of these authors copy Ctesias or did they add something to his account?

1) An addition by Plutarch?

In order to prove that Plutarch himself added the reference to a Persian custom, it would be of great assistance to find in his writings a general tendency to refer to local, barbarian customs. A complete study on the matter would certainly be enlightening, but, after a quick overview, my personal impression is that Plutarch did not have such a habit. As regards Persian customs, he does refer to another one in his *Life of Artaxerxes*, but in a passage which certainly goes back to Ctesias.³⁸ In fact, if one turns to the corpus of Ctesias’ fragments, there are several such references to a Persian or a Median *nomos* to explain the behaviour of someone, and these fragments are not only found in Plutarch, but also in Diodorus and Nicolaus.³⁹ The possibility cannot be excluded, then, that they were all drawing on Ctesias as a common source.

2) An addition by Photius?

Did Photius add the detail that the amputated hand was the one that had struck the King, a form of explanation from the ninth-century writer? The hypothesis has been tested by Muller⁴⁰ and Mari, because it is, in their eyes, an explanation which differs from that found in Plutarch.

³⁷ Ctesias F16 §64 (Photius, *Bibliotheca* 43b37-39): αἰκισμὸς τοῦ σώματος Κύρου ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Ἀρτοξέρξου· τὴν τε γὰρ κεφαλὴν καὶ τὴν χεῖρα, μεθ’ ἧς τὸν Ἀρτοξέρξην ἔβαλλεν, αὐτὸς ἀπέτεμε καὶ ἐθριάμβευσεν.

Ctesias F20 §13.2 (Plutarch, *Artaxerxes* 13.2): καὶ κατὰ δὴ τινα νόμον Περσῶν ἡ δεξιὰ χεὶρ ἀπεκόπη καὶ ἡ κεφαλὴ τοῦ σώματος, ἐκέλευσε τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτῷ κομισθῆναι· καὶ τῆς κόμης δραζάμενος οὔσης βαθείας καὶ λασίας, ἐπεδείκνυε τοῖς ἀμφιδοξοῦσιν ἔτι καὶ φεύγουσιν.

³⁸ Ctesias F29b (Plutarch, *Artaxerxes* 19.9.1-2): ἀποθνήσκουσι δ’ οἱ φαρμακεῖς ἐν Πέρσῃς κατὰ νόμον οὕτως...

³⁹ See Ctesias T3 = F5 §32.4 (Diodorus) and F8d* §2 (Nicolaus).

⁴⁰ This hypothesis was initially tested by Yannick Muller, who wondered if Photius may have added a personal commentary inspired by Byzantine legislation, which made

I must confess that, rightly or wrongly, I cannot see here a real discrepancy between Plutarch and Photius.⁴¹ It is no surprise that two different readers did not select, interpret, express, or summarise in the same way. Why could the Persian *nomos* not refer to the symbolic amputation of the guilty limb, such as we find, for example, in the Code of Hammurabi?⁴²

More important, I think that arguments should be drawn from Photius' common practices. If one wants to claim that he added something here, the best way would be to find irrefutable instances of other additions, for example by comparing his summaries with extant works. To my knowledge, such enquiries have discovered some misleading shortcuts, but no real additions.⁴³ Other studies on Photius might alter this picture, but in the present state I cannot see any compelling reason to believe in an addition either from Plutarch or Photius, and I would believe rather that the explanation went back to Ctesias.

* * *

These two types of inquiries have shown, or so I hope, how the study of intermediate authors is integral to any solid interpretation of fragments. For that reason, general research on the aims and methods of intermediate authors remains an important task.

Secondly, the intermediate authors must have their place within a commented edition of fragments, not only in the introductions, where the reader deserves to be warned and guided with general considerations about the features of each 'cover-text', but also in the detailed comments, where indications on the context or possible alterations may be necessary.

provision for mutilations as sentences that reflected the offence (see Patlagean (1984) 405). I thank Yannick Muller for a stimulating discussion on the matter.

⁴¹ On the contrary, Francesco Mari considers that "loin d'évoquer l'usage perse, Photius semble plutôt offrir une explication ponctuelle de l'épisode".

⁴² Yannick Muller finally favours this hypothesis and he suggests that such a practice only concerned those Persians who had tried to kill the King, which would explain its rarity.

⁴³ Hägg (1975), who compared 10 codices of Photius' *Bibliotheca* with their extant models, did not find any real additions, except the replacement of pronouns with nouns (p. 108-111, 154-155). The same is true for Bigwood (1989), who, for her part, compared Aelian's and Photius' parallel fragments. See Lenfant (2004) CLXXXV-CLXXXVIII. Cresci (2011) provides an excellent recent summary treatment of Photius' method as transmitter of historical fragments. Note that the example of θριταμβεύω seen above (and considered by Mari as a reason for suspecting Photius) is not an addition, but a rewording.

Third and most difficult, readers of fragments should be aware of the peculiarities of such cover-texts, and should be able to adopt an appropriate heuristic approach. The reason for this is that even the best commented edition cannot solve every question. Assuming that the editor is always right, he still cannot comment on every statement or expression and explicitly wonder about the paternity of each detail. Not only would he thus produce a monster, difficult to read (and to publish!), but no scholar can be totally aware of all possible issues. Some questions are therefore better dealt with in separate papers (at least for the detail of the argument),⁴⁴ but, once again, the main difficulty is to prompt readers to avoid some of the most frequent errors:

1. The first of these is blind confidence. As an example, a historian who was recently speaking about Pythagorean thought according to Archytas (4th century BC), which he thought to have been transmitted as such to Roman politicians of the first century BC, did not understand my question about the fragmentary nature of the corpus and the dating of the Pythagorean themes he was discussing (he simply replied that Archytas' fragments were "authenticated" by the fact that Aristoteles quotes Archytas' name). It seems that this scholar had no idea of the possible reworking that a prose text could be subjected to when used by a later author, especially a philosophical one.⁴⁵ The same can often be said about historical authors, such as, for example, Phylarchus.⁴⁶
2. The second trend is blanket scepticism or avoidance. Some scholars are tempted to reject fragmentary literature as a type of false literature, or rather as a literature which eludes knowledge.⁴⁷ Such reservations

⁴⁴ As an example, in my study on Ctesias' eunuchs (Lenfant (2012)), the first part of the paper tries to assess how the diverse authors who refer to Ctesias might reflect or distort his allusions to eunuchs. It is based on three main types of clues: (1) the general literary practice of each author and his use of Ctesias' work, (2) his personal relationship to eunuchs in his own life and society and his general depiction of eunuchs, in cases where he is not drawing upon Ctesias (3) the comparison with parallel and independent fragments of Ctesias thanks to other intermediate authors. Such an in-depth investigation could (and should) not have been developed as such within an edition of Ctesias' fragments.

⁴⁵ Note that, according to Riedweg (2002) 1032, "From the late Hellenistic period onwards, the name A. was used as a favourite cover for pseudo-Pythagorean forgeries, mainly concerning ethics and philosophy."

⁴⁶ See P. Pédech and K. Meister's views on Phylarchus, as criticized by Schepens (2007) esp. 240-243. Schepens shows how these views result from an uncritical use of intermediate authors like Polybius and Athenaeus.

⁴⁷ A case in point are G.W. Bowersock's critical remarks on the inclusion of a fragmentary historian such as Ephorus in a database of documents used by ancient historians:

may sometimes be due to an awareness of the difficulties involved in studying fragments and a desire to avoid them.⁴⁸

3. The third trend, and perhaps the most harmful, consists in being sometimes sceptical, sometimes accepting according to one's own needs and purpose and without advancing any arguments.

These three trends remain common, perhaps precisely because they do not call for serious examination. However, interpreting a fragment is an exacting task that, in the ideal case, not only requires a familiarity with the other fragments of the lost writer, but also knowledge of the intermediate author and his habits. It also requires a dynamic approach to both sources.⁴⁹ Even if there is still much to do, we may hope that recent studies on fragments have led to a better awareness of the issues, and the fact that many scholars are now involved in such difficult research is certainly an encouraging sign.

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"a data-base that included Ephorus, for example, would be treacherous and ill advised." See Bowersock (2003) esp. 15-16 and G. Schepens' reply in his paper on Ephorus in the same volume (Schepens (2003)).

⁴⁸ Many books on Greek literature or Greek historians simply do not take into account non-extant works. The shortcomings of such an attitude are highlighted by Schepens (1997) 144-146. In some cases, such an approach can however be explained by the lack of previous specialized studies and the desire to remain cautious.

⁴⁹ See the brilliant analysis of G. Schepens on Theopompus' Agesilaos according to Plutarch and Athenaeus (Schepens (2005) esp. 62-70).

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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Ancient Society would like to stimulate scholarly interaction between its readers, and therefore the editors have decided to set up a new section of 'letters'.

In this section scholars can react to articles that have appeared in the previous *Ancient Society* volume, by bringing forward additional evidence for a thesis proposed, correct factual inaccuracies, propose new readings, or point out how recent related studies put things in a different perspective.

The upper limit for 'letters to the editors' is 2000 words (excluding references), but they are subject to editing and abridgement and shorter letters will be given preference. A reply of the author(s) of the original article can be added.

VERTICAL INTEGRATION/DISINTEGRATION
IN THE ROMAN ECONOMY:
A REPLY TO WIM BROEKAERT

As an economist I am most gratified that my paper¹ motivated Broekaert² to consult the sources to find additional examples of vertical integration. It is certainly the case that several of his examples do not require strong assumptions to make them work.³ But Broekaert's response to my paper moves beyond demonstrating the availability of additional examples of vertical integration to the more fundamental question of how to interpret such evidence. As will be shown, Broekaert's explanatory framework is quite different than mine. The difference is indeed part and parcel of the continuing debate about the nature of the Roman economy.

To begin with, it should be noted that my paper, unlike Broekaert's, is not concerned only with vertical integration. As can be seen from its title, it is about vertical integration *and* disintegration — that is, it is about industry life cycles. My theoretical perspective may be compactly restated in the following terms.

An entrepreneur perceiving a profitable opportunity for a new product will seek to purchase up- and downstream inputs and outputs (relative to his main business) from specialists who are capable of producing them more cheaply than he can. The entrepreneur has sufficient information to convince him that his new product will be a winner but the specialists do not and they decline to make the necessary investments. The entrepreneur finds it more costly to convince the specialists to participate (by transmitting his information to them or by raising his offer prices) than to produce everything within his own firm. Thus is born the vertically integrated firm/industry. It is efficient because it has economized on information transmission cost but the other side of the coin is that “doing it all yourself” has raised production cost. Next, after a longer or shorter period, knowledge of the profitable new opportunity penetrates to the

¹ Silver (2009a).

² Broekaert (2012).

³ Broekaert is perhaps not aware of the extent to which he has “squeezed” many of his new examples of vertical integration. This process is signaled by the use of the following expressions: “most likely” (111, 113); “probably” (111, 113, 114); “safely assume” (112, 117); “seems likely” (112); “no doubt” (112, 115); “apparently” (112, 114 (2x), 116, 118); “it seems probable” (113); “attractive to think” (114); “seems feasible” (114); “very tempting” (116); “it is possible” (117, 120).

grassroots of the specialized producers. Because their production costs are lower the latter take over the production of up- and downstream products and services. The vertically integrated firm has become inefficient and it is supplanted by numbers of efficient vertically disintegrated firms.

In the standard life cycle of an industry the “visible hand” of vertical integration (administrative structure) is displaced by the “invisible hand” of vertical disintegration (market structure). This pattern, with understandable variations, has frequently been observed in much later economies.⁴ My paper sought to show that it was visible also in Roman antiquity.

Broekaert presents examples of vertical integration for a variety of industries but he does not mention vertical disintegration. This reason for this omission is clear: in Broekaert’s perspective vertical integration is intrinsically the more efficient form of economic organization. This, he suggests, is because Roman entrepreneurs operated in an imperfect market wherein:

They constantly faced various market shortcomings, hampering their business efficiency: communication with business partners was frequently difficult or even impossible; information was often mutilated; hard to check or already outdated when reaching the entrepreneur; fluctuating supply heavily influenced prices; transport remained slow and often dangerous etc.⁵

Here, Broekaert focuses on salient characteristics of pre-industrial economies generally.⁶ He takes it to be self-evident that vertical integration served as a useful device to cope with the above market imperfections:

It was no doubt profitable to internalize recurrent economic aspects within the main business. An entrepreneur would then be able to diminish dependency on potentially unreliable business partners and reduce uncertainty about production, yields, prices and quality. Theoretically, vertical integration is likely to enable an increase in scale and efficiency and greatly ameliorate the businessman’s competitiveness. We should not be surprised to find several Roman entrepreneurs adopting this technique.⁷

⁴ The theory is fully developed together with numerous examples in Silver (1984).

⁵ Broekaert (2012) 110.

⁶ Silver (2009b) 121-122.

⁷ Broekaert (2012) 110.

Since the market imperfections cited by Broekaert *always* remained in operation resort to vertical integration was inherent in the “primitive” Roman economy. Hence, vertical disintegration is not to be expected and its existence must be denied. This is well illustrated by Broekaert’s discussion of the oil industry: “The scarcity of documents however does not necessarily imply that oil merchants were less likely to combine shipping and trading. No doubt the reason why grain and wine merchants turned to vertical integration applied to oil traders as well, so we may assume that this technique to enhance commercial efficiency was equally widespread in the oil business.”⁸ But how well does Broekaert’s model fit the available evidence?

The fish sauce industry of Pompeii perhaps provides a glimpse of changes over time in industry structure. “Perhaps” because, in my judgment, Broekaert’s discussion is not a model of clarity. He suggests that the “first” series of *tituli picti* show that the large firm run by Ubricius Scaurus participated in both production and trade.⁹ However, a “second” series “comprises the preposition *ab*, followed by the names of three *liberti*...”¹⁰ This indicates that these freedmen were distributors of the fish sauce. Then Broekaert explains: “Only his [Scaurus’] name appears as a primary *titulus* in the exact position where one would expect the merchant’s name. His family members on the other hand are always cited in connection with the production of fish sauce. Maybe he started out as a fish sauce producer and merchant with his own *officina* and shop” and then “As his business began to flourish, Scaurus may have left the production stage to his family while monitoring sales himself.”¹¹ The interpretative difficulties are compounded by Broekaert’s final sentence: “He [Scaurus] combined production with selling his own produce and importing other sauces.”¹² The precise status and role of Scaurus’ “relatives” is left unstated by Broekaert.¹³ Did they operate independent firms or were they junior partners or what? Also, while Broekaert never mentions vertical disintegration he does hint that Scaurus’ firm may have grown to the point of experiencing serious diseconomies of scale.

⁸ Broekaert (2012) 115.

⁹ Broekaert (2012) 121.

¹⁰ Broekaert (2012) 121.

¹¹ Broekaert (2012) 121-122.

¹² Broekaert (2012) 122.

¹³ Berdowski (2008: 260) suggests, “We do not know the business relations between Umbricia and Scaurus.”

If so, why did he not limit *both* his sales and production and thereby continue to enjoy (alleged) efficiency gains from being vertically integrated? Broekaert does not discuss this problem.

Should Scaurus' enterprise be taken as representative of Pompeii's fish sauce industry? Curtis provides enlightenment:

As active as the Umbrici Scauri were in the production and commerce of fish sauce, they did not possess a monopoly of the industry. *Tituli picti* provide the names of at least fifteen other persons apparently active in the salt-fish industry but not demonstrably connected with Scaurus... Two Pompeians, M. Arruntius Anteros and Tinnius Restitutus, functioned in the production side of the business as consignors or producers, while perhaps seven others may have as well, but confirmation is lacking.¹⁴

Also, at least some of the *liberti* mentioned in the *tituli picti* may have run independent firms. Fortunata, for example, is named in the second series but Berdowski claims: "None of the inscriptions mentioning Fortunata mentions Scaurus or persons associated with him and it is not proved that she traded Scaurus' sauces. If so, it is unlikely that he had exclusive rights for delivering products to Fortunata."¹⁵

It is difficult to decide whether Broekaert's analysis of the evidence reveals that Scaurus' firm and the fish sauce industry generally trended toward vertical disintegration or that they were vertically disintegrated to begin with. Little is known about when the fish sauce industry began at Pompeii.¹⁶ However, some clues are available with respect to dating. An atrium in a very large house in Pompeii ("Scaurus' house") has a floor mosaic depicting four large amphorae of which three bear an inscription identifying Scaurus as the *producer* of *garum*. This floor has been dated to 25-35 CE on stylistic and historical grounds.¹⁷ On the other hand, there is some reason to believe that most of the containers bearing the *tituli picti* which suggest that production (and other operations) were in the hands of independent firms (vertical disintegration) date to Pompeii's final days in 79 CE. Curtis suggests:

Although these containers could have remained in use for some years, the painted inscriptions no doubt referred to personages who were active during the last year, or final few years at the most of the city.

¹⁴ Curtis (1991) 96.

¹⁵ Berdowski (2008) 257.

¹⁶ Ellis (2011) 59.

¹⁷ Curtis (1984) 562-564.

These *urcei* were not found in trash dumps... or in drainage ditches... The Pompeian vessels were found most often in business establishments or in private homes where eating or cooking took place. They were, therefore, apparently in use at the time of the eruption, and so the products contained in them probably came from a shop which was still in business in AD 79. That Scaurus could have made his wealth in the *garum* business and installed the mosaic in the reign of Augustus and still have been alive in AD 79 seems highly unlikely.¹⁸

Given the totality of the evidence I propose that, as my model predicts, Pompeii's fish sauce industry had trended from vertical integration to vertical disintegration.¹⁹

In discussing Italy's great wine export industry I argued in my article, basing myself primarily on the role of the Sestii, that Rome's wine industry was vertically integrated no later than the end of the second century BCE. Broekaert agrees and adds an additional example from the middle of the first century BCE. The wine stoppers from a wrecked ship were marked with the same name, Sex. Arrius, as was the ship's anchor: "This fortuitous discovery clearly indicated that Arrius was a ship-owner and used his own vessel to transport wine."²⁰ However, I went on to argue using a variety of evidence that Rome's wine industry experienced a pronounced trend toward vertical disintegration in the following years.²¹ Broekaert neither agrees nor disagrees with this conclusion, he simply ignores it and goes on to other examples of vertical integration. However, such a trend supports my life cycle model in which vertical disintegration is eventually adopted because it lowers production costs.

¹⁸ Curtis (1984) 564.

¹⁹ Pompeii surely had lengthy experience in fish-salting. Archaeological evidence shows that during the second-first century BCE this activity was carried out at "small independent workshops operating with mostly one, sometimes two, fish-salting vats per unit of production. At least 16 fish-salting vats were in operation in neighboring but also in different parts of the town at about the same time" (Ellis (2011) 72-73). But these facilities were abandoned virtually simultaneously by the Augustan period when typically the sites went over to retailing (Ellis (2011) 76-77, 79). It may be suspected (but not proven) that Scaurus' innovation included not only a distinctive fish sauce product (praised by Pliny, *NH* 31.94) but investment in the construction of (as yet undiscovered) large fish processing facilities outside the city (Ellis (2011) 80-81). These made his name and wealth but with the passage of time the production operation fell more and more into the hands of skilled specialists who were able to lower production costs relative to a vertically integrated firm.

²⁰ Broekaert (2012) 113.

²¹ Additional evidence of vertical disintegration in the wine industry is provided in Silver (2013) forthcoming.

On the other hand, it leaves Broekaert's market imperfection model to cope with the improbable implication that Rome's wine industry became less efficient during the late Republic/early Empire.

Obviously, much more work needs to be done. But with some squeezing the evidence for Pompeii's fish sauce industry and Rome's wine industry provides a glimpse of industry life cycles conforming to the modern pattern in which vertical integration is replaced by vertical disintegration. This kind of evidence supplements a growing body of evidence demonstrating that Rome's economy was not primitive. That the market imperfections mentioned by Broekaert were not nearly as important as he believes is made obvious by significant Roman export oriented industries in such products as textiles, kitchenware, oil, fish sauce, and wine. The exported goods were not "surpluses." Individuals consciously and repetitively produced them for sale and profit. As Morel nicely puts it, Italian wines and kitchenware "were not sold because they had been produced; they were produced to be sold."²²

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²² Morel (2007) 508.

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